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# USSR Report

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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22 APRIL 1987

USSR REPORT  
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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## WORLDWIDE TOPICS

### ALGERIAN REACTION TO U.S. UN FUND CUT

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Dec 86 p 5

[Article by Sergey Filatov under the "Commentator's Column" rubric: "Financial Dictatorship"]

[Text] African countries express their deep concern about the decision of the U.S. to cut by half their contribution to the FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN) fund. In the opinion of the Algerian newspaper EL MUJAHEED, this move will disrupt realization of a considerable number of projects planned by the FAO for 1987.

It must be mentioned here that the organization aims to improve the nutrition of people of the world and to raise their standards of living. It also tries to raise agricultural productivity and to develop a system for food distribution. To this purpose the FAO cooperates primarily with developing countries. For instance, it provided considerable aid to those African countries which suffered in the aftermath of the worst drought in years. The FAO helped to stabilize agriculture and to ameliorate the situation created by hunger in various parts of the world. According to a number of commentators, cuts in the FAO's budget strike a blow mainly at the interests of the third world and particularly those of the "black continent."

The U.S. decision stems from economic demands of transnational corporations (TNC) and from political motives. TNCs dominated by American finances strive to profit, even on starvation, and to earn still more profit in the developing countries. According to some estimates every dollar invested by a TNC in Africa earns \$3.5--\$4.5 profit. The monopolies often hide their expansionist policy under the mask of "providing aid" when they attempt to get a free hand to penetrate even further into the economy of developing countries and to strengthen their positions in them.

From the political point of view Washington's demarche can be regarded as another in the series of attacks against the UN and its special organizations. Speakers at the meetings of the UN General Assembly and in other UN forums are becoming more and more critical in their condemnation of the aggressive, hegemonic policy of the U.S. They firmly insist on the necessity of restructuring international economic relations in the interests of all countries.

All this obviously upsets the administration in Washington, which responds by trying to undermine an organization of the world community and by using its financial leverage. The U.S. pull-out from the UNESCO, their threat "to punish" the UN and their move to halve the U.S. share in the UN budget--all these are links of one chain, manifestations of one and the same policy.

But the world community cannot be reshaped a la "American style." In trying to "teach a lesson" to the UN, the UNESCO, and the DAO, American imperialism manages only to uncover its mercenary goals and its hostility towards development and progress.

13329

CSO: 1807/150

## WORLDWIDE TOPICS

### LESS 'BOMBASTIC' COVERAGE OF 'WESTERN REALITY' URGED

PM160953 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 12 Mar 87 First Edition p 1

[Sergey Volovets article under the rubric "Our Dialogue": "Political Debate"]

[Text] Quoting a contributor to our new rubric, the U.S. political scientist Stephen F. Cohen, one of our readers, Magomed Shakhrudivov, writes to the editorial office: "'The most dangerous thing is not the outright lie but the fact that both you and we tell half-truths about each other.' How long will people go on writing about the same things: unemployment, crime, and violence. In our society there are quite a few problems, too..."

You will agree that it is interesting to talk to such an opponent. We spoke on the telephone and met. Magomed is 21 years old and came from a remote Dagestan village to study at Moscow State University and at the moment is working as a fitter in a city mechanization administration.

Our conversation was unhurried, detailed, and frank and we realized that we were talking as a threesome with S. Cohen and that Magomed was his opponent, not mine.

And a more powerful one. This man's example is stronger than any words in any debate with any Sovietologist for the simple reason that this young man--a representative of a small people who has come to the capital from a distant village to study at the country's most prestigious VUZ, immediately found himself work and accommodation, and finds the time to read the latest works of political literature and of American writers whose lives are neither easy nor straightforward--is discontented with much in the capital and is doing something to reduce the causes of that discontent.

And what about the letter? It is an emotional protest against the discrepancy between his level of understanding of reality and the oversimplified, bland depiction of it by the mass media. Magomed Shakhrudivov does not agree with the primitive picture of life in the West. He refuses to be content with information which avoids the contradictions and problems, the vital dialectic of all human existence. Magomed does not equate negative problems "in their country and in ours." But he is ready to say this in a polemical fervor, tearing down that picture of the world where one half is as black as night but in the other "all is well, all is well." And his letter is evidence of how counterproductive this kind of information is and how it works against us.

In the readers' mailbag on international themes there are an increasing number of letters whose writers are active participants in the ideological confrontation between the two systems, particularly on questions of war and peace. Readers want the fullest possible knowledge about the facts connected with this and our opponent's viewpoint so as to be well armed with information in the debate with him.

Today this debate is continuing uninterrupted at all levels. At first glance it would seem to be on different problems and with different participants. At meetings between the countries' leaders, as happened in Reykjavik. At sessions between the Soviet and U.S. diplomats holding talks on nuclear arms limitation in Geneva. It is going on around the barbed wire of the base at Greenham Common, where British women are now spending their fifth winter besieging the cruise missile stockpiles. It is going on in the court in the West German city of Bitburg, where member of parliament and retired Bundeswehr general G. Bastian has been found guilty of taking part in a protest demonstration against the deployment of Pershing missiles in the FRG. An example of keen, positive discussion was provided by the recent international forum in Moscow entitled "For a Nuclear-free World, for Mankind's Survival" with its hundreds of participants representing the full diversity of contemporary political, scientific, and artistic thought. Despite the many differences and nuances of this worldwide debate a common factor is clearly visible: the search for the way to save mankind's future and free the world from nuclear weapons.

Our readers ask: What is the practical value of meetings and discussions like the Moscow forum? Or in broader terms: What is the role of arguments and the manifestation of the people's will in preventing nuclear war? There are no scales which can accurately indicate the strength of public opinion in practical politics. But there is no doubt that it is great. The main thesis of the enemies of disarmament runs like this: Nuclear weapons have saved the world from a great war for 42 years now. In fact it may be claimed that throughout those years it has been possible to prevent new Hiroshimas. Not least because throughout this period hundreds of millions of people have been vigilant. Let us also recall that in the late fifties and early sixties the international scientific community advocated the banning of nuclear weapons tests. And it did a great deal to secure the signing of the treaty banning tests in the three environments in 1963. In the sixties, when the main nuclear weapon delivery vehicle was the ballistic missile, the scientists taking part in the Pugwash movement opposed the creation of ABM defense systems and put forward quite a few ideas which were used in the 1972 ABM Treaty. The same can be said about the SALT treaties.

But readers are right when they say that there exists a definite discrepancy between the rapidly growing support for the idea of disarmament (for instance, the membership of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in Britain has increased 20 times over in the past 20 years, from 20,000 to 400,000) and the limited concrete results.

Yes, there is a common will for peace but it is a motley mosaic of widely differing and often contradictory views which on some questions are mutually exclusive. Unfortunately, it must be acknowledged that the supporters of



nuclear weapons, the representatives of the old militarized political thinking, have now formulated a more general approach and an even simpler system of arguments. For the reason that it is based on the familiar old ideas, the old political thinking. It is no easier to demolish that than it once was to demolish the image of a flat earth with the sun moving from one region to the next. But as we know, that was done. That is why the editorial office has decided to allow people who are known and acknowledged in their professional sphere and whose views differ from ours by any amount, even by 180 degrees, to express their opinions for themselves, as it were.

The reason for this, as V.I. Lenin wrote at the beginning of the century, is that "nothing helps us understand the political essence of phenomena quite as much as our opponents' assessment of them (so long as those opponents are not completely stupid, of course)."

As we all know, the tradition of political debate has deep roots in the past. But /DEBATE IS ALWAYS A CONFRONTATION OF IDEAS,/ [capitalized passage between slantlines printed in boldface] and history has ordained that throughout most of socialism's historical existence its enemies have discarded arguments in favor of other methods, such as intervention, blockade, sabotage, and war. When the cannons speak it is not only the muses who are silent, all other evidence becomes superfluous, too. The heated atmosphere of confrontation is not conducive to political dialogue either.

Real debate between the two systems becomes possible when it is accepted that only arguments, that is, results in the economy, the social sphere, culture, morals, and the art of international contact, decide who is right and which system is best. But not strength, not the quantity of weapons, not the readiness to resort to the "final argument" after which there will be neither winners nor losers.

And, of course the atmosphere of constructive dialogue is greatly helped by the changes in our social life. The ability to see the whole world and your own country in the contradictions, to find your place, and to defend your position. In brief, an active attitude toward reality does not divide into international and domestic spheres. It is all one.

Here is a letter from Comrade N. Svetlishchev from Pyatigorsk. The writer suggests that thought be given to a general restructuring of the Soviet press' approach to its portrayal of Western reality and the views of our ideological opponents. "Comrade journalists," he writes, "show respect for the reader, trust him. I personally do not need to be trusted any 'more' now than I did in the past, as it is sometimes heard said. I must either be trusted or not."

The reader's irritation at being discreetly protected from opinions which differ from ours is now revealing itself in a sense of heightened hostility even when defending our common or shared viewpoint in a debate.

Several readers note the aggressiveness of the editorial side in the debate and the tractability and mildness of our Western opponents. Let us say here straight away, dear comrades, that we shall look for sharp-tongued adversaries



and not intend to "play the diplomat" or be silent ourselves; that's the point of debate, especially political debate.

Let us not forget the main thing, which is that our advantage is not at all to be found in rhetorical sophistication or formal debating methods (we are rather at a disadvantage there) but in the strength of the position which we advocate and the vitality of the arguments to which it gives rise.

Let us think back to M.S. Gorbachev's press conference after the Soviet-U.S. summits in Geneva and Reykjavik. The Western side put forward so many incisive and aggressive questions, occasioned sometimes not by a desire for knowledge but a desire to score points for the propaganda battles ahead. Let us recall the answers--direct and powerful by virtue of their sincerity, frankness, and indisputable and firm political and moral basis.

Herein lies the debater's strength at any level and in any place from our side. There is no question now which we cannot discuss with our readers with the utmost frankness. In this sense the mass media face the kind of fundamental restructuring which is now in progress in all spheres of social life. The affirmation of openness and the development of the democratic foundations in our work [delo] means having complete confidence in your audience.

It means having neither greater nor lesser confidence but complete confidence in the reader, the listener, and the viewer, as Comrade Svetlischchev wrote to us. Without claiming to be the ultimate authority on the truth and without being patronizing. Without emotion instead of facts and bombastic tones in place of the conviction that one is right. This requires much of us, above all boldness, the rejection of blinkered thinking, and self-censorship of the conventional.

People say that there are two types of debate: One gives rise to the truth, the other to quarrels. We conduct our debate from a position of benevolence and readiness to understand the other person's world, customs, ideas, and morals. Not to accept but to understand the other side's viewpoint since our aim is the same: to preserve peace. New political thinking means above all an awareness of the realities of the nuclear age. Our side is strengthened in the debate by precisely that style of thinking and the corresponding political action. Our world outlook is founded on the dialectic of the ability to perceive the world with its contradictions, changes, and shifts and the understanding that what was true yesterday may be false today. We must preserve our dialectical method in our debate. We can and must conduct the conduct on the offensive, not the defensive. Not to win a game--the gamble is too great for that. But because we believe it to be our duty and we are doing for the sake of mankind's survival--no aim can be higher--because we believe in our moral and historical rightness and in the strength of our arguments.

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CSO: 1807/225

## WORLDWIDE TOPICS

### MANKIND'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR ITS OWN SURVIVAL VIEWED

PM101641 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Mar 87 First Edition pp 3-4

[Article by Yu. Zhdanov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, under the rubric "Questions of Theory": "The Class Factor and the General Human Factor in the Nuclear Age"]

[Text] Rostov-na-donu--After a certain period of confusion caused by Reykjavik the West's ideological centers have advanced their new propaganda leitmotiv: "Whether the Soviet Union ceases or continues nuclear tests is its affair; and preparations for 'Star Wars' within the framework of the SDI program are our affair." This thesis signifies a departure, a flight from the threshold of the possible agreement which both sides approached in Reykjavik.

What, then, lies at the basis of this thesis? The answer is obvious: Certain circles of Western countries are incapable of rising above egotistic class interests and prejudices. Even in the face of the real threat of universal destruction they still talk of "ours" and "yours," without realizing that in the nuclear age such a juxtaposition is outdated. The new political thinking obliges people to seek forms of joint existence of systems with a different class nature, outside which there can be neither yours nor ours. This thinking, M.S. Gorbachev pointed out at the international forum "For a Nuclear-free World, For Mankind's Survival," is called upon to "end /**THE ALIENATION OF POLITICS FROM GENERAL HUMAN NORMS OF MORALITY**/" [capitalized passage between slantlines printed in boldface].

Teaching on classes and class struggle was created by the works of bourgeois scientists; Thierry and Mignet, Smith and Ricardo were involved in elaborating it. In acknowledging classes, bourgeois science declares their existence eternal and unremovable. Precisely this is the source of the indisputable fact that the bourgeoisie's modern ideologues are incapable of offering mankind any prospect of development, any social goal.

Marxism developed teaching on classes and the class struggle, substantiating the historic mission of the proletariat as the class capable of transforming society, removing exploitation of labor, national contradictions, and the system of antagonisms as a whole, eliminating classes, and asserting social peace and harmony.

The proletariat is a consistently revolutionary class only when it is conscious of its worldwide-historic mission and humane role, when it proceeds from its narrow class interests, when it pulls up and raises all the classes that are capable of this to the level of understanding general human tasks. Marxism-Leninism is a teaching not on the destiny of one class but on the destiny of all mankind.

The situation that has taken shape in the modern world and the threat of universal destruction hanging over mankind in no way refute the truths of class relationships or eliminate classes and the class approach. Since economically opposed classes remain, exploitation, antagonisms, and the class struggle are preserved. However, the forms of this struggle are changing. That aspect of the struggle to which G.V. Plekhanov long ago drew attention is assuming ever great significance: "If the proletariat wants to place the defense of its class interests on the broad basis of political struggle, it must struggle for the common interests of truth, culture, justice, and humanity."

In this connection the theoretical interpretation of man's nature and essence is of exceptional importance.

Modern scientific data attest that man is the highest product of the long evolution of the universe. Man alone knows labor, creativity, and aspiration toward truth, good, and beauty. The most modest manifestation of the human spirit is higher than all the wonders of nature and grander than all stellar worlds.

It took millions of years of evolution for intelligent life to develop on the planet; now, in our nuclear and space age, it runs the risk of instantaneous destruction. This cannot be permitted!

All historical experience attests that man is by nature a cosmic being. Awareness of this fact originally arose spontaneously in myths, legends, and people's tales. The story of Etana, who soared into space on the wings of an eagle and saw our tiny earth from there, arose in ancient Sumer. Fantasies have now given way to practical deeds. We have entered the space era and are taking the first steps to conquer solar space. Space technology, biology, and medicine have already been created; experiments are being conducted in space to synthesize chemical substances and construct complex structures. These are just initial steps. But they enable us to foresee a time when man will increasingly actively and widely transform and utilize the energy and matter of space and enter the era of astroengineering projects. It is right here that his space meaning and purpose will be revealed and brought to light. Here, and not in "Star Wars" and self-destruction.

The joint evolution of man and nature will ascent step by step to their highest harmony. The world of man not only arose out of nature but is also a means of development of nature itself. Only madness, only crime, only the infinitely cruel forces of evil and self-interest can raise the sword of nuclear destruction over the mysterious process of the evolution of the

universe and barbarously interrupt it. Space is not a bridgehead for a threat to the earth but a field of general human cooperation.

People tell us with sadness or malicious delight that man is insignificant in terms of the scale of his impact on the energy and material processes of nature. And this is so, if you forget that man has a "cunning mind." He has learned to set one force of nature against another, and he knows how to use a small effect or a small cause to bring about gigantic consequences. Yesterday he mastered electricity, today nuclear energy, and tomorrow?

People tell us that the universe with its vast, deserted, and cold expanses and with the fury of fire storms and catastrophes is hostile to life and reason.

But now we know something else, too.

Reason, the thinking brain, is the natural product of its development. Modern physics arrives at an unexpected and surprising conclusion: If the world physical constants that determine the behavior of elementary particles had been fractionally different, then the complex and subtle molecular structures and bioorganic compounds would not have arisen and there would not be life at all. It is necessarily contained in the architectonics of the world, in its laws. This is why physicists and astrophysicists now speak of the anthropic, human, principle of the structure of the universe.

Science perceives mankind as a natural but extremely rare phenomenon. Hopes and fantasies associated with the possibility of intelligent life on the planets of the solar system are not finding confirmation. Attempts to detect extraterrestrial civilizations are so far in vain. Selenians do not live on the Moon, and the bleak expanses of Mars and Venus are disappointingly deserted. All mankind bears responsibility for self-preservation, for the protection of life and reason as the phenomenon of the universe.

We are accustomed to saying that nature is the realm of necessity, where the inevitable laws of the movement of matter hold sway. We will say something fundamentally different about society: While being founded on natural and social laws, it is nevertheless a realm of uniqueness. Uniqueness is a manifestation of man's free essence.

Yes, man is the only free creature in the universe. Freedom is his nature and meaning. This is not freedom to keep someone down, to humiliate, to oppress, to crush, to deceive and coerce, to cripple and destroy. Communists are opposed to the raging of the blind, dark forces of greed, arrogance, malice, and envy. Man's true nature lies in free contacts among people, in their voluntary unification in the name of sensible aims, the common good, creativity, and creation. Man alone knows the conscious joy of contact with another being, enjoyment of beauty, and the sacred feeling of love and compassion. Only the free development of each person is the guarantee of the free development of all.



The Delhi Declaration proclaimed the important principle of modern political thinking: Nonviolence must be the basis of life in the human community. Is this not at variance with the well known thesis that all the most important questions in human history are solved by violence and that violence is the midwife of the old society when it is pregnant with the new?

This should be answered by saying that, for Marxism, violence is not an age-old principle of man's existence but a statement of a bitter empirical fact of history. The world of exploitation, class antagonisms, and national oppression objectively gives rise to conditions for the use of violence.

The proletariat and the working masses, which know from their own experience what violence and destruction and the devastation and wildness resulting from wars are like, have always striven for peaceful solutions to social contradictions. V.I. Lenin pointed out that there is no place for violence in the communist ideal. The practical stance of the party of the working class is defined by the principle expressed by F. Engels in a letter to A. Bebel: "When there is no reactionary violence that has to be combated, there can be no question of any revolutionary violence" (K. Marx and F. Engels: Works, Vol 38, p 419).

The Sandinista detachments in Nicaragua are fighting against reactionary violence; the people of South Africa are waging battles against reactionary racist bigotry. And when Indian Government troops are forced to use violence against terrorist gangs incited and directed from abroad, which have the assassination of Indira Gandhi and of many totally innocent people on their conscience, everyone will say: No, there can be no place for nonresistance here.

The experience of history and the traditions of centuries-old culture reveal the in-no-way exhausted and virtually infinite potential and prospects for the development both of society as a whole and of the individual. People's equality, regardless of race, nationality, social status, and views, does not repudiate the uniqueness of every people and every culture or the wealth of their potential, which must secure conditions for its realization in labor, art, the family, cognition, contacts, and the search for truth--which is impossible without lasting peace. There are no chosen peoples or superior races. Man's infinite nature asserts itself in the multicolored character of national cultures, languages, and customs, in the diversity of tastes, approaches, and appraisals, in the originality of views and ideologies. They can argue, but disputes must not be resolved by the sides' general destruction.

The uniqueness not only of mankind as a whole but also of the individual is obvious. Every individual life has infinite and unique value. This idea is true: Every baby that comes into this world is endowed by nature with sufficient abilities to be equal to the greatest people the world has ever seen.

Unfortunately, history has shaped up in such a way that billions of people deprived of the opportunity to show their worth have already passed into the abyss of nonexistence. The hatred, malice, self-interest, envy, and violence inherent in the society of exploiters have extinguished innumerable sparks of intelligence that could have flared up and warmed and illumined people's lives. Every person is a potential marvel, and his creative genius must be revealed to the world and not destroyed in nuclear madness.

Mankind's development through all historical obstacles, complexities, conflicts, and contradictions brings it closer with every step to voluntary cooperation, to higher unity, to organic integrity.

Mankind has traveled difficult paths toward understanding its unity and significance. Antiquity raised aloft the ideal image of the fine Hellene or Roman; but not of the slave or the barbarian. The humanism of the age of the Renaissance spread only to the free European intellectual. Even those who asserted the just idea that there is no Hellene or Jew, even the creators of ancient moral dogmas called not for self-assertion but for man's self-denial and taught him to bow and to kneel before incomprehensible supernatural forces. Mankind's ancestral essence and significance were revealed to it only step by step.

The world's peoples are already accumulating experience of resolving general human tasks. Despite class differences, during World War II the peoples fought together against the worldwide threat of the establishment of a fascist dictatorship; the Nuremberg trial signified the common will to eradicate Nazism. The setting up of the United Nations Organization expressed the general human desire to preserve peace on earth.

The formation of international organizations such as UNESCO and the IAEA is a real contribution to solving the general human problems of the development of culture and science and the peaceful use of the energy of the atom.

Nowadays this is being promoted by progress in technology and means of communications and by the growing exchange of cultural assets. A great integrating role is played by modern science, which gives rise to a unified, generally significant understanding of the surrounding world. At the same time, common problems have arisen which require joint efforts and solutions: the maintenance of people's health, full-value nutrition, the provision of energy, environmental protection, peaceful space exploration. Mankind's evolution toward the global unity of civilization requires the removal of the global threat.

All historical experience asserts the supreme absolute value of human life, before which all private, local, group, national, and regional interests are obliged to step down. It is necessary to free mankind from fear of universal catastrophe and rise above self-seeking ambitions, national egotism, tactical calculations, disputes, and conflicts whose significance is paltry compared with the fate of the human race as a whole. The voice of reason demands the resolute rejection of a policy unworthy of the level of knowledge, culture, and civilization reached.



On analyzing the experience of the first imperialist war, Lenin reached the conclusion that war can undermine the conditions of the existence of human society and destroy culture and civilization. That danger has now grown into a threat of the physical annihilation of the human race and of life on earth. This is why our party puts to all peoples a program of peace and of the removal of the threat of war, sacredly keeping Lenin's behest: "It is worth devoting your life to the struggle against such war, it is necessary to be ruthless in this struggle, and all sophisms in defense of it must be pursued to the farthest corners" (Complete Collected Works, Vol 45 p 299). This Leninist thought reflects not only profound concern for mankind's destiny but also the consistently internationalist stand of the proletariat.

The sophisms of killers are perfidious--does it matter, we hear, what is used to kill: A stone ax or atomic radiation? Hypocritical custodians of historical traditions reject the question: Have the times not changed? Is it not time to altogether eradicate killing as a method of solving vital problems and achieving any goals?

The sophisms of killers are perfidious. Better dead than red, political jesters pun. No one has the right to decide the people's fate for them. The demand of the times is peaceful competition of ideologies, of plans for the social structure, and of means of solving national and general human problems. The efforts of all thinking, feeling, suffering, and reflecting people must put an end to the ancient and dismal tradition of murder and violence.

Mankind as a whole possesses an absolute and universal asset, each people possesses an absolute, unique asset, and each individual possesses an absolute asset. Understanding of this constitutes the basis and the nucleus of the humanism of our age. The humanism of bold decisions, daring, and action.

The Soviet Union, in whose name M.S. Gorbachev spoke in January of last year, has submitted an extensive innovative program of disarmament, of strengthening peace and ensuring the peoples' security. Our recent proposals to single out the problem of medium-range missiles in Europe from the block of questions and to conclude a separate agreement on it, without delay moreover, have been an important step in this direction.

The working class, the world of socialism created by it, and communist parties are taking on a lofty mission, championing not only class interests but also general national and general human interests and drawing all mankind's intelligent forces into this struggle.

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## WORLDWIDE TOPICS

### ACTIVITIES OF WORLD FEDERATION OF SCIENTIFIC WORKERS DETAILED

Moscow CBSHCHESTVENNIYE NAUKI in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 86 pp 174-177

[Unattributed report: "Science, Technology and Peace"]

[Text] The World Federation of Scientific Workers [WFSW], set up in 1946 at the initiative of a group of progressive scientists in the West, has marked its 40th anniversary. The federation has grown into the largest nongovernmental international organization of scientists. Its ranks now contain more than half a million scientific workers representing 57 national organizations in 37 socialist, capitalist and developing states, along with a large number of individual members from many countries.

The WFSW is making a significant contribution to the struggle to assert the ideals of peace and mutual understanding. The federation stood at the roots of the Pugwash movement of scientists. Its founders and first leaders--Frederic Joliot-Curie and John Bernal--led the World Peace Council, while Professor Cecil Powell was head of the WFSW and the WPC at the same time.

Since 1952 Soviet scientists in the federation have been represented by the trade union of workers in education, higher education and scientific establishments. Academicians A. Oprin, I. Artobolevskiy and N. Inozemtsev have been vice presidents of the WFSW. This post is now held by Academician N. Basov.

In accordance with the WFSW Regulations and Charter, its main aims are developing science and technology in the interests of peace and social progress, instilling a sense of responsibility in scientists for the way in which scientific discoveries are used, helping developing countries to solve scientific and technical problems, and insuring the necessary conditions for the life and activity of scientific workers and teachers and university teachers, including young scientists and technologists.

The structure of the WFSW includes committees on socioeconomic problems, disarmament, and policy in the scientific field. It has the highest consultative status in UNESCO and the UN economic and social councils and it cooperates with the ILO and the WFTU.

On the anniversary of the WFSW a forum "Science, Technology and Peace" was held within the framework of the International Year of Peace proclaimed by the United Nations (Moscow, 21-23 July 1986). Some 250 scientific figures from 54 countries participated.

The WFSW president, J-M (Lege) (France) presented a report entitled "Main Trends in and Prospects for the Development of Science and the Responsibility of Scientific Workers in the Struggle for Peace." Science is prompting us to live in peace and the preservation of peace could become the purpose of our science, the scientist said. We hold in our hands the means to preserve the most valuable thing that we have, namely our life. As we experience the difficulties and dangers and crises we hold our fate in our own hands. There is no sense in hiding the main ideological contradictions. We must discuss them, express our arguments and move things ahead. This is what detente is. It is an open door to disarmament and peace. We cannot expect that economic and political contradictions will resolve themselves with the wave of a magic wand. It is necessary first and foremost to recognize them and to use them in order to achieve social progress. In any event, they will not be resolved with the help of weapons. And in the past no war has ever resolved anything.

We possess a powerful tool for influencing nature and production, exceeding even the most optimistic predictions. But we have not learned to use this potential correctly. For example, the sums spent on the arms race and on the development of public health do not bear comparison.

The numerous initiatives and demonstrations that have occurred in various countries in recent years, particularly in this present International Year of Peace, testify that since World War II the idea of peace has seized the minds of the peoples. Peace has become part of their specific existence. It is, beginning to be perceived as an achievable goal, albeit it still slowly. The professional competence of scientific workers should be used in the struggle for disarmament, the WFSW president emphasized in conclusion.

Reports were present by corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences L. Feoktistov ("A Counterstrategy to the Plans for Preparing for War and the Buildup in the Arms Race"), R. Prasad (India) ("The Socioeconomic Consequences of the Arms Race"), (P.U. Hog) (United States ("The New Scales and Danger of the Arms Race")), and K. Kato (Japan) ("The Development of Science Exclusively in the Interests of Peace: the Most Important Prerequisite for Mankind's Progress"). The leitmotif of these reports, and also the speeches of H. Miklos (The International Peace Institute in Vienna), D. (Dalits) (the UN Institute for Studying Disarmament Problems), and others attending the forum was the need to unite the efforts of scientists in the struggle against the inhuman use of the achievements of science and technology and to rid humanity of the threat of the nuclear nightmare.

The adventurist military doctrines based on the myth of a "Soviet threat," the militarization of science, the development of new weapons of mass destruction, and the threat that the nuclear arms race will be extended into outer space are posing for scientists in all countries a task of immediate concern, namely, to inform the public of these dangers in an objective and well-argued

way and to explain their baneful effect on the future of our civilization. This was the opinion of those taking part in the discussions on the problems posed by the new levels of the arms race.

There was also lively discussion of questions concerning constructive actions in order to avert the threat of nuclear war. The measures essential to reduce the threat of war include first and foremost a halt to the testing and production of all kinds of weapons and rejection of the first use of nuclear weapons by the nuclear powers. In this connection those attending the forum from the various countries assessed highly the unilateral pledge made by the Soviet Union, and also the Soviet moratorium on nuclear explosions.

The members of the commission considering the socioeconomic, ecological and political consequences of the arms race pointed with alarm to the intensification of global problems such as environmental protection, the energy problem, the raw materials problem, the food problem, the demographic problem and others. It was pointed out by scientists from the developing countries that the sharp decline in the living standard and the quality of life, disease, hunger, poverty and the developing countries' debts, which cannot be paid, are the direct result of the senseless waste of resources on weapons of destruction.

An atmosphere of constructive dialogue and complete mutual understanding accompanied the roundtable discussion by young scientists that took place within the framework of the forum. Some 120 delegates from 36 countries participated in this discussion. Serious attention was paid to the problem of the social activeness of young scientists, teachers and engineering and technical workers. Those taking part in the roundtable discussion welcomed the idea of setting up a permanent WFSW committee on the problems of young scientists.

The forum issued an appeal to states and governments possessing nuclear weapons. The appeal contains a call not to conduct nuclear testing and to promote the most expeditious achievement of an agreement banning them completely. At the same time it supports the idea of uniting the efforts of the scientific potential in all countries for the peaceful utilization of outer space and to find solutions to mankind's global problems.

On 22 July 1986 the appeal was handed to A.A. Gromyko, Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, who received a large group of those attending the international forum of scientists (1) (The text of the appeal and an account of the meeting were published in Soviet newspapers on 23 July 1986).

At the conclusion of the forum the 14th WFSW General Assembly took place. It discussed the tasks of the federation and its permanent committees and regional centers, and amendments were made to the Regulations. Elections were held for the leading organs of the federation. J.-M. (Lege) was elected president for 1986-1989.

An appeal to the scientists of the world issued by the assembly stresses that scientific programs and their results should serve only the cause of gaining knowledge about the world and improving people's living conditions. The

federation called upon scientists to take part in research promoting progress in disarmament and the creation of peaceful models of economic cooperation, and to increase the contribution that they are making in finding solutions to political questions through their technical and professional knowledge and experience.

Those attending the forum and assembly were invited to a ceremonial meeting of the scientific community taking place in Moscow on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the WFSW and the 30th anniversary of its press organ, the journal WORLD OF SCIENCE.

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## WORLDWIDE TOPICS

### FOREIGN AFFAIRS JOURNALISTS: SEPTEMBER 1986 - FEBRUARY 1987

#### September 1986 Assignments

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 9, Sep 86 p 47

[Unattributed item under the rubric "Official Department": "Appointments"]

[Excerpts] Anatoliy Vasilyevich Bogomolov is confirmed as a member of the Board of Directors and the chief editor of the Main Editorial Office of Photoinformation for APN.

He was born in 1930. He graduated from Moscow State Historical-Archive Institute. He worked in the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting where he was a department chief, a deputy chief editor, chief editor of the Main Editorial Office of Television Programs, deputy chief of the Main Editorial Office of Foreign Relations. He was the chief editor of the Main Editorial Office of Teleinformation for APN. From 1978 to 1984 he worked as the chief editor of the Script-Editing Collegium for artistic films of the USSR Goskino. Since 1984 he was the editor of the All-State Association "Soviet Information Bureau."

Yegor Vladimirovich Yakovlev is confirmed as deputy chairman of the Board of Directors of APN and chief editor of MOSCOW NEWS.

He was born in 1930. He graduated from the Moscow Historical and Archive Institute. He has worked in the press since 1955. He was a literature employee, a responsible secretary of MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, chief of a department, deputy editor of the Moscow oblast paper LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA, deputy chief editor of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, a member of the Editorial Board for PRAVDA, and was the chief editor of ZHURNALIST. From 1972 to 1975 he worked as a consultant, first deputy responsible secretary and chief of a department of the journal PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA. From 1975 to 1984 he was a special correspondent, editor of IZVESTIYA for the Department of Communist Education, and since 1985 has been an IZVESTIYA correspondent in Czechoslovakia.

Mikhail Borisovich Yefimov is confirmed as the chief editor of the APN publishing house.



He was born in 1929. Higher education. He began working in the press in 1955 as a proof-reader for the Pravda publishing house. He has been with APN since 1961 serving as an editor, a responsible secretary for the journal SOVETSKIY SOYUZ SEGODNYA, chief of the APN bureau in Japan, and deputy chief editor of the APN Main Editorial Office of Periodicals.

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#### October 1986 Assignments

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 10, Oct 86 p 59

[Unattributed item under the rubric "Official Department": "Appointments"]

[Excerpts] Vadim Grigorevich Talanov is confirmed as the deputy general director of TASS, and the chief of cadre administration.

He was born in 1937. He graduated from the Saratov State University imeni N.G. Chernyshevskiy. He has been working in the press since 1958. He has worked for regional papers, was a correspondent, and a department chief of the Saratov oblast paper KOMMUNIST. From 1979 to 1983 he worked in the apparatus of the CPSU Central Committee. Since 1984 he has been the chief editor of the TASS Main Editorial Office of Union Information.

Vladimir Vladimirovich Pozner is confirmed as a political columnist of the USSR Gosteleradio Central Television and Radio Broadcasting.

He was born in 1934. He graduated from Moscow State University. He was the chief editor of the Main Editorial Office of Political Publications and the responsible secretary of the APN North American Main Editorial Office. From 1967 to 1970 he was the responsible secretary of the journal SPUTNIK of the APN publishing house. Since 1970 he has worked in the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting as a correspondent of the Main Editorial Board of Radio Broadcasting to the United States and England.

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#### December 1986 Assignments

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 12, Dec 1986 p 64

[Unattributed item under the rubric "Official Department": "Appointments"]

[Excerpt] Nikolay Ivanovich Romanenko is confirmed deputy general director and the chief editor of the All-Union Cost-Accounting Publishing-Poligraphic Association VNESHTORGIZDAT.

He was born in 1948. He graduated from the Moscow Agricultural Production Engineering Institute. He began working with VNESHTORGIZDAT in 1971. He has been a scientific editor, chief of an editorial office, chief editor of the Main Editorial Office of Energy and Technical-Machinery Products. Since 1983 he has been the VNESHTORGIZDAT representative in Hungary.

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#### February 1987 Assignments

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 2, Feb 87 p 63

[Unattributed item under the rubric "Official Department": "Appointments"]

[Excerpts] Boris Vladimirovich Korolev is confirmed as chief editor of the APN North American Main Editorial Office.

He was born in 1930. He graduated from the Moscow Institute for Oriental Studies. He has worked in the press since 1954. He first worked in the Soviet Information Bureau. Since 1963 has worked with APN, where he was both the chief of the Youth Department, and the deputy chief editor. He has worked in Canada and in Greece.

Georgiy Artashesovich Ter-Gazaryants is confirmed as the first deputy chairman of the Board of Directors of the All-Union Copyright Agency, (VAAP).

He was born in 1923. He graduated from the V.I. Lenin Military-Political Academy. He has served as the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Armenian Komsomol, the first deputy chairman of the Anti-Fascist Committee of Soviet Youth, and a department chief of the Komsomol Central Committee. He was a secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, and has also worked in the apparatus of the CPSU Central Committee. From 1973-1981 he served as the USSR Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Republic of Senegal, and since 1981 was the USSR Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Zimbabwe.

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## EAST-WEST RELATIONS

### WESTERN ABUSE OF CHILD LABOR DECRIED

Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 12 Nov 86 p 3

[Article by B. Zadubrovsky Under the "Labor and Capitalism" rubric: "Stolen Childhood"]

[Text] In November, 1951, the UN General Assembly unanimously passed the Declaration of Children's Rights. The Declaration urges all people to give children the best of what they possess. It claims that "children, under any circumstances, should be helped and defended among the first." Over a quarter of a century has passed since then. In what way are the provisions of the Declaration applied in life in capitalist countries, whose representatives signed the Declaration?

Experts from various international organizations provide data which prove that in non-socialist countries the situation with children very often remains quite tragic. This is not an exaggerated estimate. You can judge for yourself: over half of all the children on our planet do not have enough to eat; every 10th child out of the 122 million who were born in 1979 has died already; over 150 million boys and girls, aged between 8 and 15, have to work for their living. It is these underage toilers that we want to discuss here.

If Charles Dickens had appeared nowadays in, say, the U.S.A., England, West Germany, Spain or Italy, he would have definitely run into the little characters from his books. For instance, about a million David Copperfields and Oliver Twists toil for mere pennies in "democratic and prosperous America" instead of being in school. One can find them in "sweat-shops", at construction-sites, laundrettes and in post hotels (among the hotel help, of course). Especially numerous are the little laborers in southern, agricultural states which run on semi-slave labor even in our days. The American magazine TIME described the following significant fact: in Bartow, Florida, one enterprising farmer kept two Mexican girls, aged 12 and 15, in a barn with the specific purpose of renting them out to work at neighboring farms. A number of people, including some of the local authorities, were aware of the "business" of this modern slave-owner. However, no one deemed it necessary to interfere.

Italy takes an ignominious first place in the exploitation of child labor in Western Europe. As shown in the data of Italian trade unions there are over half a million workers in the country, aged from 8 to 14. Their working day lasts 10-12 hours, but they are paid next to nothing. About 13% of them earn under 1000 lire a week, and over 60% earn under 10,000 lire (the numbers may seem impressive only at a first glance as 10,000 Italian lire equal 4.8 rubles). Some of these kids went through just two first grades of school and many others never set foot in a classroom.

The magazine STERN described some typical young workers of Naples. One of them, Peppino Pugliese, 12 years old, works at a shoe factory. The magazine states: "Over Peppino's bench there are pictures of a 100,000 lire note, a half-naked woman from "Playboy" magazine and a crucifix. The boy works a machine that staples the sole to the leather upper of a shoe. No accident prevention policy exists here. Whether Peppino's fingers stay unhurt, depends entirely on his dexterity." No comments are needed for this picture: both the conditions of work and depth of his aesthetic interests are completely obvious.

By the way, there is a law in Italy that forbids employing children under 14. But is common knowledge that in the capitalist world laws exist only on paper if they do not bring profit to the proprietors.

In a conversation with the correspondent of STERN a trade union activist from Naples G. Bolaffi said, "Child labor is not just a violation of the law. It is a manifestation of a profound economic and social crisis."

The situation in other Western European countries is not all that different from Italy. For instance, over a hundred thousand children work at various enterprises in the capital of Spain. Industries, agriculture and consumer services of West Germany employ over three hundred thousand little workers. Their scanty earnings very often present the only source of income for their families.

Paradoxically, very often it is easier for children to find jobs than for adults. Child labor is extremely cheap and that is what the employers want. Labor laws do not extend to minors, they are not eligible for benefits, they do not sign contracts, they cannot claim insurance pay. As was stated by the Spanish newspaper ARRIBA: "The overwhelming majority of children is being exploited and our society is to blame for this first and foremost." Society, by the way, is also to blame for the death of children under 13, over a thousand of whom are killed every year in work-related accidents.

If capitalism so shamelessly robs its own people of childhood then what is there to say about the state of things in the developing countries, especially those where transnational corporations play the master? The French newspaper LE MATIN states in its description of these countries: "Children are simply bought. The working day for kids, aged 7-15, lasts from 10 to 15 hours and the working conditions are inhuman. Accidents and occupational diseases--such is the destiny of those miserable creatures. They are undernourished. The mortality rate is high among them."

Every week over 500 children, aged 10-15, are sold at the "black market in live commodities" in the capital of Thailand, Bangkok. The price depends on the age and strength of the child but it seldom exceeds \$100. Employers earn immense profits on this practically free child labor. Still higher profit goes to owners of children's houses of prostitution called "tea-houses."

Trade in children thrives also in South Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines and a number of other countries. Thus children have become a bartering item in the capitalist world where everything is for sale. It is unlikely that one can find a more obvious example of the anti-humane nature of this world.

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## SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

### CEMA ACADEMIC, SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION FRUITFUL

Minsk NARODNOYE KHOZYAYSTVO BELORUSSII in Russian No 1, Jan 87 p 38

[Article by I. Zakharchenko, candidate of historical sciences: "In a Joint Search"; first two paragraphs are NARODNOYE KHOZYAYSTVO BELORUSSII introduction]

[Text] Speaking at the 10th Congress of the Polish United Workers Party, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee M.S. Gorbachev stressed that "...life calls for an active introduction of new, more promising forms of cooperation: to create joint enterprises and united collectives of scientists and specialists and to develop ties between industrial enterprises and scientific-research organizations."

The Belorussian SSR is making its contribution to the solution of this task. The cooperation of scientists and joint development of topics involving different directions, exchange of work experience among higher educational institutions, academic and scientific-research institutes of the countries of the socialist community and joint introduction of scientific developments into production are producing their fruits.

The beneficial influence of bringing together Belorussian oblasts and voivodes of the Polish People's Republic has made an impact on Belorussian-Polish scientific ties. They are developing in accordance with directions whose solution requires the collective efforts of scientists of the fraternal countries and use of the rich experience of the republic's scientific institutions, particularly the BSSR Academy of Sciences.

It has already become customary for Polish and Belorussian scientists to exchange experience, to present lectures to students of friendly VUZ's, to participate in joint conferences and symposiums and to work on shared topics.

The scientists of a number of Belorussian academic institutes have established close ties with Polish colleagues. For example, among the topics being jointly worked on by scientists of the Photobiology Institute of the BSSR Academy of Sciences and of the Polish Academy of Sciences, tremendous interest is generated by the influence of the state of the chlorophyll-protein complex on the intensity and productivity of photosynthesis.



The History Institute of the BSSR Academy of Sciences, which has been awarded an Honorary Diploma and the Jubilee Badge "25 Years of Scientific-Technical Cooperation of the USSR and the PPR," is actively cooperating with its Polish colleagues.

On the whole, 12 institutes of the BSSR Academy of Sciences are now cooperating with 20 scientific institutions of Poland on a number of problems.

Scientific ties are maintained by Minsk and Krakow polytechnic institutes, the Belorussian and Jagellonian (Poland) universities, the Belorussian Scientific-Research Geological Prospecting Institute and the Geological Institute in Warsaw, the Grodno Medical Institute and the Medical Academy in Belostok, the Lublin M. Sklodowska-Curie Polytechnic Institute and the Brest Engineering and Construction Institute. These educational institutions regularly organize mutual trips of instructors for exchange of experience and acquaintanceship with the organization of the teaching and educational process. Thus members of the delegation from Lublin voivode familiarized themselves with the economic and social development of Brest Oblast and visited Brest Engineering and Construction Institute. Their attention was drawn to the work organization of the design bureau and laboratories and measures for the introduction of scientific developments into production. The Polish colleagues as they say, made a note of much of what they saw for use in their own work.

There are also examples of transmission of concrete experience. Thus an innovation in metalworking--diffusion alloying--was proposed to the Belorussian Polytechnic Institute. This technology does not use chemically pure alloying-additive powders but their considerably less expensive oxides. The new economical technology is already being used at a number of Polish enterprises for providing great economy in metalworking.

The friendship of scientists of the State Hunting Preserve of Poland's Bialowieski National Park is marked by businesslike cooperation. Their joint researches have contributed to drawing up scientifically based recommendations on preservation of the natural resources of the unique forested area of Bialowieska Virgin Forest.

In the union of efforts of the friendly countries' scientists, a major role is played by our republic's scientific-research institutes. Their joint work with related institutes of friendly countries is yielding favorable results. Thus the Belorussian Scientific-Research Institute of Agriculture is conducting joint research with the institute of plant selection and acclimatization in Radzikowa on breeding tetraploid rye, while the Belorussian Scientific-Research Institute of Soil Science and Agrochemistry and the Scientific-Research Institute of Agrochemistry, Fertilizers and Soil Science in Pulawy are working on measures for increasing soil fertility.

An example of application of scientific thought to production was the garden of friendship established on an area of 350 hectares in 1977 on Rassvet Sovkhoz in Brestskiy Rayon. Seedlings were grown and turned over to the sovkhos by scientific staff members of the experimental station of Sedlecki Horticulture and Floriculture Institute. Today the garden, which is

constantly under the observation of Belorussian and Polish scientists, occupies an area of 860 hectares.

Creative work ties of scientists from Belorussian institutes of animal husbandry, potato growing, fruit and vegetable growing and plant protection are developing fruitfully with their colleagues from scientific-research institutes of Koszalin Wojewodztwo of the Polish People's Republic. Reciprocal exchange of the best strains of seeds of agricultural crops, equipment and agricultural technology is growing and cooperation is expanding in the field of joint scientific research.

An important element in further deepening direct ties between Soviet and Polish collectives will be the created council of directors of scientific-research organizations of both countries. It will provide assistance and coordinate bilateral direct contacts between scientific and production collectives of the USSR and the PPR.

Ties are developing fruitfully between the higher educational institutions of Minsk Oblast and the Potsdam district, Vitebsk Oblast and the Frankfurt-an-der-Oder district of the German Democratic Republic. A long friendship unites instructors and students of the Belorussian State University imeni V.I.Lenin and the Jena F. Schiller University, the Minsk State Institute of Foreign Languages and the Karl Marx University in Leipzig. In 1985, an agreement was concluded between the Minsk Pedagogic Institute of Foreign Languages and the Jena F. Schiller University on scientific and cultural cooperation. The work program for 1986-1990 provides for joint conduct of research work in the field of pedagogy and methodology. Reciprocal exchanges of publications and mutual trips of instructors and students are envisaged.

At the time of the visit to Potsdam by a delegation of Belorussian scientists headed by N.A. Borisevich, president of the BSSR Academy of Sciences, a document was signed on a joint search by scientists in which a special place was designated for ways of intensifying research and using their results as quickly as possible in the economies of the cooperating countries. This document spells out a broad program of cooperation in the development of instrument making and provides for an exchange of unique instruments and equipment.

Cooperation is successfully developing between scientists and students of Gomel State University and the Czech Budejovice Higher Agricultural School, the Belorussian Institute of Railroad Transport in Gomel and the Institute of Transport Engineers in Zilino (Czechoslovakia). Students have become direct participants in strengthening ties between the linked VUZ's. Their closer drawing together is promoted by joint work in construction detachments on Kolkhoz imeni Lenin in Gomelskiy Rayon and the Czech Sumavo Sovkhoz.

The friendship and cooperation of the collectives of Mogilev machine-building and the Gabrovo general technical institutes (Bulgaria) have grown stronger. It is not the first year that students of the Veliko Tarnovo University named after Cyril and Methodius and the Rus Higher Agricultural School are undergoing production practice in Belorussia.

The policy of deepening and expanding mutually enriching ties in different spheres of science and technology will contribute to the acceleration of scientific and technical progress in the fraternal socialist countries and to intensification of research for its quickest possible use in the economy.

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## SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

VIETNAM-CEMA AGRICULTURAL COOPERATION--(TASS) Rural workers in the Province of Daclac, the largest coffee producer in Vietnam, gathered a 10-year record harvest of coffee. It is planned to expand the area sown to this valuable export crop to 50,000 hectares in accordance with the province's comprehensive program for coffee production to 1990. The establishment of joint enterprises with CEMA member countries is of great importance here. The province is receiving agricultural machines, fertilizers, and construction materials from the socialist countries. By the end of the current five-year plan more than half of all the area planted to coffee will be cultivated within the framework of farms established with the assistance of the Soviet Union and the GDR. [Text] [Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 11, Mar 87 p 24]

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### THIRD WORLD ISSUES

REVIEW OF JOURNAL AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA No 1, 1987

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English, 4 Feb 87 pp 1-27

[Text] In an article entitled "Realistic Alternative" N. Gnevushev writes that in the past few decades the arms race has been ever more widely involving the newly-free states. Their aggregate military expenditures went up from \$10 billion in 1966 to \$151 billion in 1985. As a result the proportion of these countries in the world military spending (17.8) percent has exceeded their share in the world GNP. The military expenditures not only increase the threat to peace but also sharply aggravate the social and economic problems of the young states and delay the implementation of their ideals and the attainment of the development of targets or make them altogether impossible.

The author views the aggressive policy of imperialism as the root cause of the increased military expenditures of developing countries. Seeking to break the military-strategic parity with the world of socialism and to regain the lost grounds in the zone of national liberation, the United States and some other NATO countries are trying to place the emergent states' military-economic resources at their own service.

To attain this objective the United States intends to preserve the system of neocolonialist relations with developing countries, making lavish use of military force for this purpose. Many U.S. military bases and installations are situated on the territories of the young states and the Rapid Deployment Force is stationed there. Numerous squadrons of the navies of the United States and the other NATO member states ply the World Ocean. The United States has assigned some functions of protecting the positions of the neocolonialism in the developing regions to its confederates--the reactionary regimes of South Africa, Israel, South Korea and Pakistan--lavishly supplying them with arms and helping them establish munition industries of their own. In these conditions many newly-free states have to take reply actions to build up their defenses with a view to rebuffing aggression and defending their sovereignty and to seek for external sources of military assistance.

The neocolonialists tie the knots of tension in the Middle, Near and Far East, Southeast Asia, Central America and Southern Africa, creating a kind of nutrient medium for the growth of the emergent states' military expenditures.

But there is a quite specific alternative to the reckless and wasteful spending of material resources and labor, N. Gnevushev stresses. A realistic program of disarmament is set forth specifically in the January 15, 1986 Statement by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev on stage-by-stage ridding of our planet of weapons of mass destruction, reducing conventional armaments and allocating a portion of the multibillion funds thus saved for the development needs.

The magazine carries an article "USSR-Ethiopia: Hand in Hand" by Director of Africa Institute Anatoly Gromyko, corresponding member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

Both the Soviet Union and Socialist Ethiopia, Gromyko writes, are convinced that the struggle against wasting world resources on preparations for a suicidal war is also a struggle for accelerating the advance of emergent nations along the road of progress.

The Soviet Union and Ethiopia are unanimous in their opinion that now that the imperialist reactionaries are trying to impose their will on states set on an independent course and use regional conflicts to overwhelm governments that do not serve them well, the need grows for activating a collective search for ways to settle disputable issues by peaceful means. The two countries have a common view of the just liberation struggle waged by the peoples of South Africa and Namibia. Both support this struggle politically, morally and financially, advocating a political settlement of the dangerous conflict in the south of Africa. Together with tens of other countries, they have firmly condemned the aggressive expansionist policy pursued by Israel in the Middle East with direct support of the United States. But they equally oppose interference by external reactionary forces in the internal affairs of nations, wherever they might happen.

The Soviet Union values highly and supports Ethiopia's drive to promote good-neighborly relations, cooperation and friendship in the Horn of Africa, turn the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea into zones of peace free from foreign military bases, observe the principles spelled out by the OAU and nonaligned movement and to make Africa a nuclear-free zone.

Revolutionary Ethiopia and its ruling party are consistently following the course of struggle for peace and security of nations, for social progress, against imperialism, neocolonialism and racism. The Soviet Union, its Communist Party and all true friends of the Ethiopian people are united with them in this struggle, Gromyko writes in conclusion.

"South Africa: A Regime Doomed by History" is the title of an article by Y. Shevtsov. The South African regime, he writes, is a springboard of imperialist expansion on the African continent, an important political and military ally of the West and its anticommunist stronghold.

The aggressive course of Pretoria toward neighboring states fully confirms the validity of this view, the author notes. The attacks by the racists on Angola, Botswana, Zambia and Mozambique and Pretoria's support of such antipopular gangs as UNITA and the MNR are elements in the neoglobalist strategy of

Washington. Its real architects and masterminds are the more reactionary Western circles which are closely linked with the interests of the transnational corporations. Without their support the apartheid regime would long have collapsed under the burden of its crimes. There are more than 1,800 foreign corporations in South Africa today, and the leading role among them is played by 400 American companies.

South Africa today is being split from top to bottom by sharp inner contradictions and antagonisms, while the foundations of apartheid are being shattered by the national liberation movement, mass manifestations of protest and the wrath of the oppressed. The main point about the current developments in South Africa is that apartheid which has incorporated the more revolting features and manifestations of the capitalist system has also naturally inherited all its vices and inner contradictions, Y. Shevtsov points out. This adds special gravity to the crisis which has enveloped apartheid and an extra edge to the ongoing struggle. The objective portents of its own doom which are inherent in capitalism and which are compounded by their ugly manifestations under the apartheid conditions decide the inevitable downfall of the regime.

The journal also features the articles "A Mission of Peace and Friendship" by V. Baikov about Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to India, "A Garrison of Peace: Time for Unity" by V. Korochantsev about the nonaligned summit in Harare, "The Socialist Revolution in Russia and the Arab World" by R. Landa, materials of the roundtable conference focussing on "Islam in the Search for a 'Third Way' of Development," the article "Kampuchea. The Live-Giving Air of Freedom" by Y. Fadeyev and other materials.

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## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### REPORT ON NONALIGNED MOVEMENT'S HARARE CONFERENCE

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 1, Jan 87 pp 9-11

[V. Korochantsev report: "'Garrison of Peace': Time for Unity"]

[Text] "This meeting promises to be an important landmark in the history of the nonaligned movement, which is celebrating its 25th anniversary," I was told by an employee of the Zimbabwean newspaper THE HERALD with whom I fell into conversation in the foyer of the high-rise Monomotapa Hotel, where journalists attending the eighth conference of heads of state and government of nonaligned countries were being accredited. "In the opinion of the majority of observers, it is being held in a critical period, when imperialism, to judge by everything, is attempting to seize the initiative and put the forces of freedom on the defensive and when the need for a new evaluation of our positions, strategy and tactics to tackle the tasks of the moment has become urgent."

It was crowded around us. It would have been surprising were it otherwise: in a matter of days officials of the Zimbabwean Ministry of Information had to accommodate approximately 2,000 journalists, who had come from all parts of the world. And it has to be said that they coped excellently with what was for them an unprecedented mission. True, vigilance had to be displayed for (which is also profoundly symbolic) the conference had been convened in the capital of a "front-line" state, which is subjected to regular armed provocations of the apartheid regime perpetrated with the support of the United States and some of its NATO allies. The empty sockets of the windows and dented walls of the building on Angwa Street in Harare were a reminder of the bandit sally carried out by the racists just 3 months prior to the event described. All kinds of doubtful personalities were endeavoring to penetrate in the guise of journalists the international conference center in the Sheraton Hotel. Anton van Niekerk and Pat (Sidley), who had called themselves correspondents and who were connected, as the ZIANA Zimbabwean Press Agency reported, with South African intelligence, were expelled from the republic on the eve of the forum. Nor did any transatlantic spy have any "luck".

The United States' hostility toward the conference was a topic of lively commentary in Harare. A whole group of officials of the U.S. State Department had been sent here. A car bearing diplomatic license plates and a stars and stripes became a familiar sight at the Sheraton Hotel. Washington attempted



quite uninhibitedly to influence certain delegations to ensure that they "softened" the overall tone of the discussion and expressed ideas to its liking. It was precisely circles close to the United States which diligently played up the proposition concerning the imaginary split in the ranks of the nonaligned countries and urged the participants in the meeting not to touch on the global issues of peace and disarmament allegedly far removed from their day-to-day concerns and leave these questions to the great powers.

In vain! In Harare, as at preceding forums of the nonaligned movement, attention was focused on the most urgent problems of the present day, primarily on ensuring peace and security, which reflects the general thrust of the developing countries' policy. The leitmotiv of the conference was the idea enshrined in the principal document which it adopted--the Political Declaration--concerning the "direct and inseparable connection between peace, disarmament and development". It is not fortuitous that the movement is called the "garrison of peace". Reflecting on the debates and decisions of the forum, one is convinced that a new political thinking is strengthening at the heart of nonalignment dictated by the particularities of the nuclear-space era, a recognition of the impossibility and suicidal nature of a reliance on force and nuclear blackmail in international relations and the impermissibility of attempts by anyone to dictate his will to peoples and sovereign states and recognition of the urgency of peaceful dialogue for the sake of emergence from the nuclear impasse.

"The time has come to call on mankind for prudence: the most important tasks for all should be life and development and not death and destruction. Preventing the destruction of mankind in a nuclear war is an indispensable condition of the success of all our other efforts," Robert Mugabe, chairman of the nonaligned movement and prime minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe, summed up the essence of this thinking in his speech. "No one can speak about security in a world where the annihilation of each individual is a real possibility at any time of day or night," Fidel Castro emphasized from the conference rostrum. The American "division of the world into spheres of influence" and "balance of terror" doctrines were condemned in the course of the debates as contrary to the cherished aspirations of the peoples and the command of the times. The world can survive only by renouncing confrontation and eradicating fear, hatred and inequality, it was said at the meeting. Contemporary warfare with the use of nuclear weapons would affect every country. No form of life would be preserved.

In accordance with this logic, the Political Declaration expresses a resolve to strive for the surmounting of the dangerous trends in the international situation and the creation of the conditions of peaceful coexistence and cooperation and notes the importance of joint efforts in support of disarmament, the preservation of peace and the elimination of centers of tension. A most extensive section of the document--"Disarmament and International Security"--incorporates 30 points. Many recommendations of the nonaligned movement, which proclaimed the motto "General Security by Way of Disarmament," are close to the Soviet proposal concerning the creation of an all-embracing system of international security. In spite of the strong pressure of the United States, at the insistence of the majority of delegations the main document incorporated clauses welcoming the unilateral

moratorium on nuclear explosions announced and three times extended by the Soviet Union and also the "all-embracing and timely program of nuclear disarmament proposed by the USSR".

The Harare appeal to M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President R. Reagan (a similar appeal to the leaders of the two powers was adopted 25 years ago) contains an appeal to the USSR, the United States and other nuclear states for urgent measures to prevent nuclear war and continued dialogue for a halt to the arms race and the achievement of practicable agreements in the disarmament sphere, on prevention of the militarization of space included. For its part, the document emphasizes, the nonaligned movement is devoted to the quest for global stability and the development of equal international cooperation at the time of solution of the main political and economic problems confronting the world.

There was sharp criticism at the forum of the United States' policy both pertaining to key questions of peace, security, disarmament and development and regional problems. The expression "state terrorism," when it is a question of intrigues against Nicaragua, Angola, Libya and other countries, is frequently encountered even in the usually restrained official documents of the conference. For the first time these documents plainly condemn the U.S. CIA for its attempts to overthrow the legitimate government of Nicaragua. Nonalignment experts and journalists agreed in their conversations that never before had the United States' hegemonist policy been censured so unanimously by states which at times adhere to highly diverse political and socioeconomic positions. It was calculated that in the speeches of the delegation heads alone American policy was directly assailed more than 1,000 times.

There was furious discussion of the developing countries' economic difficulties brought about, it is generally believed, by the consequences of the colonial exploitation of the peoples in the past and also the present predatory actions of the Western powers and transnational corporations. In 1985 these countries' share of world industrial production constituted less than 12 percent, and their foreign debt was approaching \$1 trillion. Certain Western powers, it was pointed out at the time of the debate, have become out-and-out rentiers and are living in the interest on the nondiminishing debt of the young states. In one-third of developing countries economic growth is now the equivalent of zero or a negative value. In the period 1980-1985 they all together suffered a loss of \$104 billion as a result of the correlation of export and import prices, which was not to their advantage, and lost a further \$120 billion owing to inordinately high bank discount rates. The gainer was primarily the United States, whither in 1985 approximately one-fourth of the entire international flow of financial resources was channeled compared with 6.1 percent in 1980. The speakers also called attention to the fact that the role of "financial policeman" of imperialism is being performed by the IMF.

"Despite having gained political independence," the Indian scholar V.R. (Panchamukhi), director of the research and information system for the nonaligned and other developing countries, told me, "the majority of former colonies is still in the fetters of 'intellectual colonialism'. This means, inter alia, that the prescriptions of bourgeois economists are still too often employed to solve problems of the 'third world'. Take, for example, the

'advice' imposed on us by the IMF and the World Bank: 'Produce raw material and forget about industrialization'. We should not imitate capitalism, the 'consumer society' and the class structures of the West. We talk a lot about a new international economic order, but do not always have a clear idea of what this is. Our leaders must interpret this goal more clearly, in other words, how to transform world economic structures for the good of the peoples."

The inseparability of a general democratization of international relations and the speediest creation of a new, just economic order was emphasized once again in Harare. The Economic Declaration and the Economic Cooperation Action Program outline spoeific steps for progress along this path.

Only Liberian President S. Doe and Singapore's foreign minister "stood up" for the United States, and very timidly at that, considering the general indignation at Washington's selfish reckless policy. "Our country does not always agree with the policy of the United Stats," S. Doe said, defending in passing Israel also. "But we find it incomprehensible why so many countries stigmatize so sharply their benefactors, from whom they are at the same time requesting assistance." The explanations, if they were needed, were not long in coming.

What was happening at the conference was being perceived with unconcealed irritation across the Atlantic. On 2 September Washington declared that it was refusing to make available to Zimbabwe, the coordinator of the nonaligned movement, economic assistance which had already been promised as a punishment for its "criticism of American foreign policy" and "unwillingness to maintain relations with the United States in accordance with the accepted standards of diplomatic courtesy." Simultaneously the Washington administration's official spokesman was by no means diplomatically calling "a set of arbitrary and groundless accusations" the cogent criticism of the United States and the appeals for the White House to respond in actual deeds to the peace initiatives of the nonaligned and socialist countries.

"The State Department probably considers the mining of Nicaragua's ports, supplies of weapons to the UNITA bandits to oust the legitimate Angolan Government and the bombing of Tripoli and Benghazi manifestations of 'correct behavior'," the ZIANA Agency said with irony.

"The United States' attacks contain nothing new," Nathan Shamuyarira, minister of information, posts and telecommunications of Zimbabwe, who conducted in the conference period briefings for journalists, declared. "The United States has had a long-standing and profound hostility toward nonalignment. Remember that back in the 1950's John Foster Dulles had tagged it with the label of an 'amoral and short-sighed policy'."

The Indian commentator (Kunandvan Nair) quoted the callous, as he put it, words of Gen Vernon Walters, former deputy director of the CIA and now U.S. permanent representative at the United Nations, who called the nonaligned countries "a herd of sheep," and the movement itself, "shameless".

The hubbub concerning the fact that an anti-American tone was unjustifiably predominant at the conference and that the "communists" were to blame for this



which was kicked up by American and, following it, all Western propaganda called attention to itself. At the press conferences the correspondents of bourgeois mass information organs would put to Robert Mugabe, Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and other heads of state and government one and the same grating question: "Why is the United States being criticized in Harare more than the Soviet Union?"

"The United States is being condemned only for its specific actions in various parts of the world," the chairman of the nonaligned movement would answer. "During the Reagan presidency attacks have been carried out against Grenada and Libya, support is being granted the UNITA terrorists in Angola, there is interference in the internal affairs of El Salvador and 'constructive engagement' has been established with the apartheid regime. The nonaligned movement has its own interests, which it upholds regardless of its relations with the two military-political blocs."

The whole point, many participants in the forum told me, is that the nonaligned states organically cannot accept the "neoglobal" doctrine of the United States and are unwilling to waive their sovereign right to independently choose their development path and dispose of their own natural resources, and this is automatically categorized on the banks of the Potomac, where not even a hint of the equality of all states and peoples is tolerated, as "anti-Americanism" and "Marxism". "The Reagan administration considers the world a stage on which America plays the main part. Cowboy ways have become the basis of its foreign policy, and double standards, its 'trademark'," the semi-official Zimbabwean newspaper THE HERALD wrote. "Zimbabwe and the nonaligned movement harbor no dislike of the American people. However, the actions of the U.S. Government against small states, including the application of double standards--the imposition of economic sanctions against Libya, Poland, Nicaragua and Cuba while refusing to resort to such measures in respect of South Africa--have dug an abyss between us and the Reagan administration."

What American "propriety" is costing the small countries is attested by the sorry experience of Angola and Nicaragua. According to information given from the platform of the Harare forum, in the last 10 years the losses inflicted on Angola by South African aggression, which is encouraged by the United States, is in excess of \$12 billion, while Nicaragua has lost as a consequence of American intrigues \$9 billion. Also eloquent is the example of Afghanistan. As Sultan Ali Keshtmand, chairman of the DRA Council of Ministers, declared at the conference, the first cause of the tense situation around this country is the policy of "undeclared war" against it being pursued by Washington. In neighboring Pakistan, the speaker said, the United States has created 120 camps for training bandits who are subsequently dispatched across the border.

The conference's decisions reflect the nonaligned countries' adherence to the cause of the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism racism, apartheid and Zionism and for the right of the peoples to decide their fate themselves. The concepts of the movement's "equidistance" from the USSR and the United States and the "equal responsibility of the two superpowers" for the arms race being thrown up by bourgeois propaganda and attempts to view through the prism of East-West confrontation the nonaligned countries'

aspiration to genuine independence, and of the peoples of the colonies, to national liberation, were emphatically rebuffed.

The Soviet Union's attitude toward the nonaligned movement was given high marks by the participants in the meeting.

"A profound impression has been made here by M.S. Gorbachev's greetings to Robert Mugabe, the chairman of the conference, and its participants," N. Shamuyarira said. "The significance of the words to the effect that the Soviet Union understands fully the nonaligned countries' aspiration not to participate in military blocs, pursue an independent policy and themselves determine their development path cannot be overestimated. It would be a good idea were the other great power and its partners to adopt the same constructive position."

The results of the top-level meeting in Harare testify to the strengthening of the developing states' anti-imperialist unity, which is based on an understanding of the truth that imperialism is the main enemy of the progress of the emergent countries and peoples and that the movement's cohesion is the surest guarantee of the independence of each of its members.

The fact that the Western press gave the conference very scant coverage and practically passed by its results in silence calls attention to itself. In addition, a number of articles appeared which contain crude attacks on the nonaligned movement and a variety of inventions.

"The United States will not forgive the nonaligned countries their radical decisions," the Indian commentator Govind Narain Srivastava, prominent specialist on problems of nonalignment and author of such books as "India, Nonalignment and International Peace," "Nonalignment and Nuclear Disarmament," "The Nonaligned Movement Today" and "Conspiracy Against the Nonaligned Movement" believes. "It is the old logic. Protest against inequality and against the policy of diktat which has been adopted across the Atlantic and condemnation of Zionism and South African racism are distasteful to it."

The signs of a "new wave" of attacks on the movement are obvious. Literally prior to my departure from Harare a curious document entitled "How Nonaligned Is the Nonaligned Movement?" which was being disseminated there by "persons unknown," but with the official emblem of the conference on the cover, came into my possession. This lampoon, which was supplied, as if mockingly, with the subtitle "A Truthful Publication," had been fabricated, many of my colleagues believed, by Western special services to discredit the results of the summit. Leafing cursorily through the pamphlet, one finds in it nothing other than anti-Soviet inventions and direct insults aimed at the chairman of the nonaligned movement. It is sufficient to take any of the more reactionary American or South African newspapers, copy out the standard anticommunist expressions there and compare them with this concoction to divine the authors of the forgery. Familiarity with the above-quoted nonparliamentary sayings of J.F. Dulles and V. Walters also helps uncover the open secret.

"As might have been expected," the Zimbabwean SUNDAY MAIL pointed out, "the Western press is abusing the conference for the fact that anti-Americanism



allegedly predominated at it. But if the nonaligned movement is devoted to its goals, words of condemnation inevitably had to be heard against the leading imperialist power. It is not a question of the movement's 'anti-Americanism' but of the hostile attitude thereto of Washington and its allies." "Our policy is based on nonalignment and not on equidistance from the great powers," R. Gandhi emphasized in Harare.

The enemies of the nonaligned states exaggerated and continue to exaggerate the false interpretations concerning some "profound disagreements" and "cracks" in the movement in the clear hope of shaking it. It needs to be said plainly that the speakers who addressed the conference revealed a multitude of differences between the positions of the movement's members, but practically all were unanimous on the fundamental issues of the struggle for peace, for the right to an independent policy and noninterference in their internal affairs and on the question of nonparticipation in military blocs.

"Recognition of weaknesses is a sign of strength," Congolese President Denis Sassou-Nguesso declared in this connection. "No, we have not yet succeeded in setting up the necessary economic cooperation with one another, reliably defending our raw material resources against plunder and formulating an effective position on the question of the huge foreign debt. But the movement is looking for greater cohesion and harmony. It is said that whoever has made a correct diagnosis of a disease will find the right medicines. There is accord and unity here on fundamental problems. We have succeeded in adopting effective, strong decisions on these problems and formulating altogether a common political and economic platform, and this in itself is a sign of good health."

Under the conditions of the ferocious attacks on the movement its unity is of truly vital importance as a guarantee of the successful development of each nonaligned country and all of them together.

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## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### ROUNDTABLE ON ISLAMIC 'THIRD WAY' OF DEVELOPMENT

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 1, Jan 87 pp 17-24

[Roundtable on Islam's search for a "third way" prepared by Candidate of Economic Sciences L. Birchanskaya]

[Text] The following participated in the roundtable discussion: Prof L.R. Polonskaya, doctor of historical sciences (USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute), Candidate of Philosophical Sciences R.Ya. Aliyev (Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute), Doctor of Historical Sciences A.M. Vasilyev (USSR Academy of Sciences Africa Institute), Doctor of Historical Sciences A.I. Ionova (CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences Scientific Atheism Institute), Doctor of Historical Sciences Z.I. Levin (USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute), Candidate of Historical Sciences A.K. Lukoyanov (USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute) and Doctor of Philosophical Sciences M.T. Stepanyants (USSR Academy of Sciences Philosophy Institute).

L. Polonskaya

Our roundtable is devoted to a problem which on the frontier of the 1980's was at the center of attention of Soviet and foreign historians, sociologists and political scientists. It is a question of the "Islamic way" of development as the ideology and policy of the ruling regimes of a number of Muslim countries and the banner of mass Muslim social and political protest movements. This concept attracted attention primarily in connection with the 1979 revolution in Iran and the coming to power of the Shia clergy. Although at the present time the most acute passions surrounding the Iranian events have subsided somewhat, the problem of the Islamization of policy and ideology itself has remained and retains its scientific and practical relevance.

In defining our attitude toward the "Islamic way" theory we cannot fail to see that it reflects many important singularities of the historical development of the oriental peoples. As the CPSU Central Committee Political Report to the 27th party congress observed, "the liberation of former colonies and

semicolonial territories was a telling political and ideological blow to the capitalist system.... A slow, difficult, but unstoppable process of socioeconomic transformations in the life of peoples constituting the majority of mankind is under way. A process which has entailed many fundamental changes, but which has also encountered many difficulties" (1).

The bulk of the emergent countries continues to develop by the capitalist path. There are states which have opted for a socialist development prospect. History has provided no third way. But capitalism has already discredited itself in the eyes of the peoples which have embarked on the path of political independence, while the majority of the earth's population is not yet ready to perceive socialism as an integral scientific theory and social practice. Whence the search for a "third way" of development.

It should be emphasized that not religious but socioeconomic, political and cultural problems predominate in the contemporary Islamic theories reflecting this new social phenomenon.

In addition, the "Islamic way" concepts incorporate many concepts which do not exist in the Koran, the sunnah and Muslim law: "Islamic economy," "Islamic state". Such are some general prerequisites connected with the search for a "third way".

I propose that the roundtable participants concentrate attention on such aspects as the factors determining the ebbs and flows of the process of Islamization of ideology and policy; the objective social content of social institutions and ideological principles; and the purpose pursued by specific Islamic economic and political models. Let us also attempt to determine the historical place and prospects of the "Islamic way" concept in the social development of the Asian and African peoples. Permit me to give the floor first to Marietta Tigranovna Stepanyants.

#### M. Stepanyants

There was for a long time, and still is even, exaggeration among some Soviet scholars of the significance of subjective factors. Undoubtedly, the anti-imperialist mood so natural for peoples which experienced colonial and semicolonial oppression, the attractiveness of socialist ideas and the inevitable aspiration of the ideologists of different classes to conceal under "religious clothing" the true purposes of their political programs also determined to a certain extent the spread of the "Islamic way" of development concepts. But the main thing, nonetheless, lies elsewhere: objective socioeconomic reality prevents the countries of the so-called "Muslim world" making a categorical choice between socialism and capitalism, and if such a choice has been made, implementing it. Whence the inevitability of attempts to find a "third," distinctive, national way of development.

I agree with you, Lyudmila Rafailovna, that the formation of the "Islamic way" concepts and their social essence are determined primarily by the objective development process. At the same time, however, I would like to emphasize once again that the genesis of the "third way" concepts in question and of the "Islamic way" in particular cannot be rigidly tied to the modern era since

their formation began far earlier and is connected with the specific features of the belated formation of capitalism in the East. These concepts combine prebourgeois traditional notions and institutions and bourgeois institutions, both Western and local.

A. Vasilyev

I would like to warn against another extreme also. The fact that there has in recent decades been a growth in the role of Islam in sociopolitical life is no reason to assert that this will be a long and constant growth process. In the past also the Islamic world had times when religious movements assumed tremendous proportions (in a period of economic and political crises). Something similar may be observed in the Muslim countries at the present time.

With what are the reasons for the stability of the influence of Islam connected? Primarily with the particularities of the social development of oriental countries under the conditions of independence. Many of them began to be manifested most distinctly on the surface of economic, political and spiritual life as of the end of the 1970's.

R. Aliyev

Is it a correct assertion that it was in the 1970's that sociopolitical protest was manifested increasingly often in the form of Islamic religious-political movements and that their radical potential was by the end of this decade growing? In respect of the Arab countries such an assertion is highly contentious, in my view. Back in the 1950's and 1960's no in any way influential sociopolitical movement in these countries was free of the influence of religion, and some of them were of a purely religious nature.

The resurgence of Islamic political movements in the Arab countries in the 1970's applies predominantly to the activity of rightwing, reactionary Islamic groupings in Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, Morocco and so forth. And, finally, all the more or less influential regional Arab and international Islamic organizations had manifested themselves prior to the 1979 Iranian revolution.

A. Vasilyev

But are you ascribing the explosion of the assertiveness of the Shia and their military-political influence in Lebanon to the "activity of rightwing, reactionary Islamic groupings"?

R. Aliyev

No, of course not, but the resurgence of the Shia movement in Lebanon has been connected primarily with the Near East problem and not with an upsurge of the radical Islamic movement. However, I shall continue my thought. Truly, a serious study of Islam and political movements under Islamic slogans began on the eve and at the outset of the 1980's. I emphasize, study only, which must not confuse us.



A. Ionova

In my opinion, the upsurge of the Muslim movement pertains to the end of the 1970's-start of the 1980's. A principal impetus serving this upsurge were the crisis phenomena connected primarily with the difficulties of surmounting economic backwardness. Particularly complex was the search for a solution of three problems: integration of traditional structures in the modern structures, consideration of local economic specifics and mobilization of internal resources for the development of the economy and, finally, the rebuilding on an equal and democratic basis of economic relations of the former colonies and semicolonial territories with world capitalism.

L. Polonskaya

Yes, the Islamic social and political protest movements acquired scope on the eve and at the outset of the 1980's. The anti-imperialist and anti-shah revolution in Iran, the coming to power of the Shia ulemas and the establishment in the country of theocratic forms of rule exerted an appreciable influence on this process and also on a growth of the movements' radicalism. However, we should not, in my view, exaggerate the role of this influence. The origins of the Islamic solidarity movement go back further, to the end of the 1960's, and are connected with the Near East crisis; the Muslim Brotherhood movement was strengthening at the end of the 1960's-start of the 1970's under the "Islamic way" of development slogans. It was aimed primarily against the Arab countries which had opted for a socialist orientation. But proclaiming Islam the banner of the destitute, the Iranian revolution had a big influence on an upsurge of Muslims' political assertiveness. Teachings concerning the "Islamic way" of development came to be used to impart a legitimate nature to the mass protest movements in many countries.

A. Lukoyanov

I share the viewpoint that it was the 1970's which were marked by a sharp intensification of the politicization of Islam and that the "Islamic revolution" in Iran contributed to the growth of political Islamic movements in other countries (in the Persian Gulf and Near East states, in the Philippines and in individual African countries).

The Iranian events also confirm that the influence of religion increased in connection with crisis phenomena in the countries of the Muslim East which embarked on a path of capitalist modernization. It should be stressed that there were protests under Islamic slogans in Iran before also, but they did not enjoy such support of the people's masses. Back at the start of the 1960's Khomeini had begun a struggle against the monarchy and its political course, but he was defeated at that time and was exiled. It was only after a socioeconomic crisis which deepened the gulf between rich and poor had erupted in Iran that the calls of the religious ideologists were supported among the people.



What circumstances brought about the popularity of Islamic theories? They include the socioeconomic crisis and despotic regime of the shah (objective factors) and also the activity of Islamic ideologists and revolutionary-democratic, left forces (subjective factors). Let us dwell in just a little more detail on the latter.

The Islamic ideologists did not represent a single, monolithic detachment inasmuch as they expressed the interests of different socio-class strata of society (although they formally appealed to the whole people and asserted the extra-class nature of their positions). Whereas Khomeini relied originally on the broad urban masses and petty bourgeois trading-entrepreneurial strata, M. Bazargan defended objectively the interests of the national bourgeoisie as a whole, while Ayatollah M. Taleqani, despite all his "liberalism," was inclined toward an orientation toward broad strata of the working masses, the progressive intelligentsia and the student youth. Many representatives of the forces of the left conducted propaganda of their views in Islamic form, adapting to the level of consciousness of the religious masses. As a whole, this benefited the Muslim clergy, which in the eyes of believers represented the most zealous defenders of Islam as some national, Muslim ideology of the people.

Following the ouster of the monarchy and the seizure of power by the supporters of a theocracy, acute contradictions emerged among the former allies in the antimonarchical struggle, which led to an open delineation among Muslim ideologists. Thus Ayatollah K. Shariatmadari, who did not share many of Khomeini's views, but who had in the past supported M. Bazargan, was removed from the political scene. M. Bazargan was forced to resign as prime minister, A. Bani-sadr, first president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, quit the country illegally, fearing physical reprisals, and so forth.

And, finally, Iran's post-revolution experience has shown that halting capitalism with the help of religion and the clergy is impossible. The clergy has been forced to adapt to it inasmuch as it is incapable of offering an alternative development version.

A. Vasilyev

The discrepancy between the cherished aspirations of the people and the possibility of their satisfaction is widening not only in Iran. The revolution of rising expectations is being replaced by a revolution (some say: reaction) of disappointed expectations. Political independence has not in itself made it possible to tackle either problems of eliminating economic backwardness, the poverty of the masses and economic dependence on the West or the rapid conversion of the Muslim countries into industrially developed ones. The painful urbanization and "demographic boom" are increasing manifest and hidden unemployment engendered by socioeconomic factors. A relative and sometimes absolute decline in agriculture, with the exception of certain areas and centers, may be observed almost everywhere.

The crisis phenomena in the socioeconomic sphere are increasing political instability. No bourgeois-parliamentary regime has survived in Muslim countries with the "free" competition of bourgeois political parties. Particularly characteristic in this respect is the crisis of parliamentarianism in Tunisia, where it has the deepest roots and the longest traditions. As for countries with superficial parliamentarianism.... Local conflicts, which are being kindled by the imperialist states, are intensifying. The pointless, fratricidal Iran-Iraq war alone has caused hundreds of thousands of casualties.

If attempts are made to determine the features uniting the Muslim countries, it is discovered that this is not one of the easiest tasks. Concentrated here are the world's richest states in terms of per capita income and the poorest, monarchies and republics, revolutionary-democratic and theocratic states and those proceeding along the path of a socialist orientation and a capitalist path. They are related not only by geographical location but also the similarity of many social structures, community of cultural and religious heritage and history of struggle against colonialism and imperialism.

The capitalist development of the countries of this vast region has encountered difficulties of such force, depth and diversity and precapitalist, traditional social systems and structures have demonstrated such tenacity that a direct copying of the West here is simply impossible. In attempting to follow the capitalist path these countries are falling into a vicious circle of insoluble socioeconomic contradictions.

L. Polonskaya

The impact of the oil factor was reflected in the development of a number of capitalist countries of the East in the 1970's-1980's. The fantastically increased revenue from oil could not have failed to have transformed the oil-producing countries and to have changed their position in the world community. And in a number of cases, what is more, nationalism has ceased to be a militant appeal to liberation from colonial coercion. It is no accident that we are observing currently a crisis of the slogans of pan-Arabism. What do you think of this, Aleksey Mikhaylovich?

A. Vasilyev

What you have been speaking about, Lyudmila Rafailovna, does not exist in "pure" form. The aggressive policy of Israel, which is supported by the United States, is reminiscent of the worst times of colonialism and is forcing even conservative governments in a number of instances to occupy anti-imperialist positions. While the threat of direct U.S. intervention is giving rise to fears and solemn protests: close ties to Washington could discredit the powers that be in the eyes of the anti-imperialist, anti-American people's masses.

As far as transformation of the countries is concerned, the appearance of "oil money" obtained thanks to unique income in the Near and Middle East has on the one hand accelerated the process of class formation and class differentiation and, on the other, deformed and smudged it. And this applies, furthermore,

both to the oil-producing countries and other oriental countries experiencing the impact of an outflow of manpower and an influx of "oil capital" into the commercial-speculative, banking and housing spheres.

L. Polonskaya

So, rejecting the Western capitalist model of development as having discredited itself, but not adopting socialism, the contemporary Muslim supporters of populism and other religious figures are seeking their own, particularly, "third Islamic way" of development and elaborating various versions thereof.

Z. Levin

It should be emphasized that the social essence of these versions is dissimilar. And this is natural because the ideologists of different social classes and groups interpret the Koran and the sunnah each in their own way, the more so in that "holy writ" affords extensive scope for the most varied, at times mutually exclusive, interpretations. Conservative circles here affirm the absolute authenticity of the social tenets in Islam for the sake of preservation of the customary order of things; the supporters of capitalist modernization emphasize attention to the Koran's recognition of the right of private property, the acquisition of profit, freedom of will and choice for the faithful and so forth.

"Islamic way" concepts are being adopted increasingly often by the defenders of the new bourgeoisie, which is strengthening in Muslim countries. They emphasize the need here, in particular, for the establishment of state control of the functioning of big capital under the conditions of freedom of private enterprise. This is the policy of the bourgeoisie strengthening in a national framework of countries which are being subjected to stiff pressure on the part of powerful and experienced developed capitalism. An understanding of the aggressiveness and inhumane essence of Western capital has become a factor of the idealization of early bourgeois and state-capitalist development models, for which Islamic doctrines may serve as a convenient theoretical base.

L. Polonskaya

Of course, "Islamic way" of development theories are being used by various political forces, and this has been noted repeatedly in our literature. It would seem to me, however, that movements under the "revival of Islam" slogans reflect primarily the reaction of the strata connected with prebourgeois and petty commodity structures to the modernization of society.

A. Lukoyanov

But the ideologists reflecting the interests of the masses have ultimately been forced to adapt to the demands dictated by the development of the leading (in a number of countries, dominant) bourgeois structures. After all, these ideologists cannot in practice offer a realistic alternative to capitalist development.

A. Ionova

Permit me to dwell on the problem of the social differentiation of the ideologists of the "Islamic way" of development. Clashes have reached the highest intensity within two groupings. Within the framework of one supporters of modernization and its opponents idealizing early Islamic principles and endeavoring to protect prebourgeois structures against destructive present-day trends confront one another. In the other grouping a struggle is under way between those who advocate economic bourgeois transformations "in the spirit of the times" and anticapitalist forces. The second line of confrontation is the leading one in the majority of cases. Nonetheless, the appeal for a revival of the fundamental, including economic, values of Islam remains in places the banner of the defense of traditional principles which is embodied in separatist rebellions, uprisings and insurgencies doing considerable damage to the country's development. The Pakistani scholar (Kh. Gardezi) reasonably notes the role of "imperialist intrigues" in the stimulation of the religious-traditionalist forces.

As far as the attempts to link the "revival of Islam" with the building of an "Islamic economy" and a "new Islamic economic order" are concerned, this is primarily the result of the efforts of bourgeois figures hoping for the support of the believing masses. Where, however, revolutionary-democratic regimes, including those which have not broken with religion, are in power, its tenets are not, as a rule, taken into consideration at the time of the elaboration and, particularly, realization of economic programs oriented toward a socialist course.

A. Vasilyev

In practice this is not the case, and the revolutionary democrats have been forced increasingly to take account of the influence of Islam. It is sufficient to mention the new version of the Algerian National Charter.

A. Ionova

Truly, they cannot fail to take account of the religiosity of the masses. But nowhere are the revolutionary democrats the ideologists of an "Islamic economy". A religious approach to economic reforms is mainly the prerogative of bourgeois and petty bourgeois nationalists.

A number of establishments advertised as "pillars" of the Islamic "alternative" to both world capitalism and world socialism operates currently. Among such institutions specializing in the establishment of the financial-economic integration of the "Islamic world" are the Islamic Development Bank, the Islamic Vocational-Technical Training and Research Center, the Islamic Commercial-Industrial Chamber, the Statistical, Economic and Social Research Center, the Islamic Trade Development Center, the Islamic Development Foundation, the Islamic Shipowners Association and so forth. The hopes of many Muslims that the "Islamic world" would succeed in putting an end to their position of backward and dependent periphery subject to imperialist exploitation and would manage to protect the local economy against the



negative consequences caused by crises in the business and political centers of the capitalist West have hitherto been linked with their activity. The domination in the leadership of the above establishments of representatives of the conservative regimes of a number of petroleum-exporting countries, however, is leading to the realization of such hopes receding to the background in the face of the hegemonist ambitions of the regimes themselves.

In order to impart to everything the nature of pious actions approved by Islam there has been a marked stimulation of the elaboration of so-called "Muslim business ethics". Their main object is modernization "in the spirit of the times" of the shariah rules of the ownership and inheritance of property, commercial affairs, obligations pertaining to mortgages, credit agreement timeframes and so forth. Particular attention is being paid to an interpretation of the Koranic prohibition on loan interest and other interest (riba) which would legitimize in the eyes of the Muslim masses both credit-financial transactions and capitalist profit.

The second half of the 1970's-start of the 1980's was a time of the constant expansion of the Muslim finance-credit system. In 1975 the capital of the Islamic Development Bank was put at 2 million Islamic dinars (2), while in 1980 this figure was 790 million, of which 200 million were accounted for by Saudi Arabia, 125 million by Libya, 100 million by Kuwait and 110 million by the UAE. And whereas in 1977 the construction of 26 projects at a cost of 132 million Islamic dinars had been financed, 95 projects (2.445 billion dinars) had been financed in 1980. The network of Muslim financial corporations, branches of which and, at times, centers also are to be found in the West, is expanding. Every conceivable contact of different components of the Islamic banking system with the TNC is being stimulated. Representatives of the Islamic Development Bank participated, in particular, in a socioeconomic congress convened by the International Social Economics Institute and University of California in London in 1983. Nonetheless, even in cases where such prominent theorists of the "new Islamic economic order" as (Umar Chapra) acknowledge that it is based "on the market mechanism" and "free enterprise, private ownership and the race for profits" there have to be assurances that this is not capitalism.

Study of the consequences of the Islamization of the tax system in some developing countries has led a number of scholars to conclude that such a measure has nothing in common with a defense of the interests and an improvement in the material position of the Muslim masses.

A. Vasilyev

I believe that the bourgeoisie of Muslim countries does not in general in our era aspire to the spread of secular ideology and the secularization of social life, as distinct from the West European bourgeoisie in the period of its upsurge. Rather the contrary. It sees the "Islamic way" of development as a barrier against the spread of progressive, primarily communist, ideas. In the majority of Muslim countries the communist parties are proscribed, persecuted and subjected to reprisals.



Let us turn to the example of Pakistan.

The program of a restructuring of the sociopolitical and economic system on an Islamic basis proclaimed in the past by the military junta serves to strengthen reaction here. This program was designed to legalize the power of Pakistan's ruling classes--"the upper stratum of the military bureaucracy, the big land magnates and the haute industrial-financial and commercial bourgeoisie [no closing quotation marks]. However, as is known, the Islamization of official policy was unable to normalize the situation in the country for long (to which recent events convincingly testify). The authorities are continuing to deliberately kindle religious fanaticism in the country aimed against both "Hindu" India and "Godless" Afghanistan. In other words, no extensive demonstration of the ideologists' divergent views is needed.

This differentiation is observed even where the theologians are the ideologists of the "Islamic way". Thus the views of the Shia clergy of Iran have reflected three approaches to an interpretation of the Islamic state and an "Islamic economy". The first was oriented toward the development of society in the interests of the bourgeoisie (K. Shariatmadari, M. Bazargan), the second, in the corporate interests of the theologians in power, who enjoy support among the petty proprietorial strata, the "bazaris" and the urban bottom strata (Khomeini, Khomeinists), the third, in the interests of the nonproletarian working strata of the population. Assigning Islam the role of moral criterion of justice, the supporters of the first approach campaigned for an "Islamic democratic government," concentration of power in the hands of the theologians, private ownership and, almost openly, for a Western bourgeois model of life. Advocating an "Islamic way" of development in the interests of the "destitute" and counterposing them to the "prosperous," the Khomeinists include among the destitute the broadest strata of the population. And, furthermore, by the concept "the people" they have in mind a community of individuals from all strata thereof--the poorest and richest--provided that both are prepared to subordinate themselves to and serve the power of the theologians.

And it was only Taleqani and Shariati, whose names are still popular among broad strata of the population of the Islamic Republic of Iran, who advocated labor ownership based on personal labor, called on the people to struggle for a new life, emphasized that power should serve the interests of the working strata of the population and invested the interpretation of the "Islamic way" of development with undoubtedly democratic content.

Z. Levin

It should nonetheless be emphasized that despite the divergence of the ideologists of the "Islamic way" of development on a number of questions, they all agree that problems of socioeconomic progress should be tackled on the basis of private ownership. Some prefer here a model of society in which there

is an intelligent "balance" in the distribution of material benefits between labor and capital within the framework of petty proprietorial socioeconomic structures, others, a society of the "controlled" development of capitalism free of the crisis phenomena characteristic of the capitalist West.

I would like in this connection to dwell in more detail on the "Islamic socialism" theories, which became in the 1950's in a number of countries (Indonesia, Pakistan, Egypt, Algeria) most prevalent versions of the "third way" of development concept.

The appeal to socialism was brought about by a number of factors here. First, national leaders understood that it was impossible to solve problems by following Western development models; second, many linked their hopes with support on the part of the socialist community countries--the natural allies of peoples which had freed themselves from colonial domination; third, the influence of socialism as a world ideology had spread to Muslim countries also.

In the search for ways of development petty bourgeois ideologists, while having rejected capitalism, at the same time were incapable of fully accepting the socialist alternative and, driven by a thirst for national self-assertion, also appealed to traditions and Islam.

At the source of "Islamic socialism" was, as is known, the most important leader and ideologist of pan-Islamism and Muslim reformation Jamal al-Din al-Afghani. He had introduced this concept in circulation back at the end of the last century and proposed an interpretation of socialism in a spirit of Islamic egalitarianism, which has as a whole been preserved to this day.

Thus the "Islamic socialists" believe that Islamists and socialists are united by an aspiration to social equality. They regard the ideal Islamic community as the prototype of socialist society and identify collectivism with the solidarity of coreligionists of a single community. They see as the essence of socialism, as also the social essence of Islam, an end to man's exploitation of man, equal opportunities for all, an end to poverty and guarantee of a worthy life. This goal, the "Islamic socialists" believe, may be achieved by way of a redistribution of wealth based on a system of donations prescribed by Islam, given unconditional recognition of the rights of private ownership. As you can see, the principles propounded by the "Islamic socialists" are largely contrary to the principles of scientific socialism.

Thus "Islamic socialism" represents a "synthesis" of collectivist-socialist goals with private-capitalist tenets based on the moral-ethical prescriptions of Islam. Its defenders approach an understanding of socialism from religious-ethical and not materialist standpoints. The phraseology is socialist, except for the comparatively rare instances when progressive leaders appeal to Islam for an interpretation of socialist ideas in language comprehensible to the masses (these include the well-known Egyptian progressive figure Khalid Muhyi al-Din).

A. Vasilyev

I understand by the word "synthesis" a blend of heterogeneous elements forming a qualitatively new substance and phenomenon. A "synthesis" (even in quotation marks) of "collectivist-socialist ideas with private-capitalist tenets" is simply impossible. The egalitarian aspirations of the masses are a reality, but the "socialism" of the ruling bourgeois-landowning groups is pure propaganda.

Z. Levin

You are, of course, right, Aleksey Mikhaylovich, to emphasize the need to distinguish between the egalitarianism inherent in the mass consciousness and the demagogic appeals to equality emanating from the powers that be. As far as my use of the word "synthesis" is concerned, I suggest that the argument over terms be kept for another time.

L. Polonskaya

I believe, nonetheless, that it is necessary to distinguish between the bourgeois and petty bourgeois versions of "Islamic socialism". The petty bourgeois version (most prevalent in the 1960's-1970's) of "Islamic socialism" has not always been "convenient" for the exploiter classes. Its tenets have frequently been used in social protest movements and have in certain countries served as religious grounds for revolutionary-democratic transformations carried out by progressive regimes.

Z. Levin

Yes, truly, it was not only the ideologists who saw in Islamic-socialist "synthesis" specific socioeconomic and moral-ethical stimuli of the political mobilization of the masses which appealed thereto. Certain theorists and political leaders also resorted to Islam, attempting to substantiate the right of their peoples to progressive revolutionary transformations (such as Nasir and the leaders of Algeria's FLN).

Socialist elements are also being contributed to Islamic propaganda by the ideologists of opposition movements who appeal predominantly to the pauperized population and other social groups suffering from social and economic inequality. This is particularly characteristic of countries where the contradictions of the transitional stage of formational development are reflected the strongest and where capitalism is influencing the traditional foundations of life most destructively.

However, in actual fact "Islamic socialism" serves primarily to protect the people's masses against socialism. It is not fortuitous that those who were at the source of "Islamic socialism" were extremist ideologists.

A. Lukoyanov

I do not see in your interpretation any distinction between Islamic socialism and the Islamic currents opposed to socialism. It is known that the shah once accused Khomeini of a devotion to communism, and certain Western scholars have drawn unwarranted parallels between Khomeini's Islam and socialism. Furthermore, I would not accuse all Islamic socialists of a deliberate endeavor "to protect the masses against socialism". You know better than me that V.I. Lenin rejected a combination of scientific socialism and religion as unacceptable for proletarian leaders, but emphasized that "the proposition: 'socialism is religion' is for some the formula of transition from religion to socialism, for others, from socialism to religion" (3).

Propaganda of the ideas of socialism by revolutionary democrats using religion as the "language of the masses" has become an extraordinarily important phenomenon at the present time under the conditions of the Muslim East. What to do if the masses as yet understand no other language? Undoubtedly, some of the ideologists of "Islamic socialism" are truly consciously speculating on the aspirations of the people's masses to genuine freedom and democracy. However, it is hardly worth on these grounds ruling out the possibility of dialogue with the supporters not only of "Islamic socialism" but also of the "Islamic way" in general for the unification of the efforts of all honest people of the planet in the struggle for peace and the averting of the threat of nuclear war.

Z. Levin

It should be emphasized here, however, that a trend appeared in the 1970's even toward a softening of the radical nature of all varieties of socialism of a "national" type, which was brought about by the transformation of the socioeconomic reality in many oriental countries, the bourgeoisification of the bureaucratic machinery, the growth of a new bourgeoisie and also a certain disenchantment of the nationalist leaders with the possibilities of rapid progress on the path of socialism, which they regarded predominantly as a concept of economic growth.

L. Polonskaya

In my view, it is more correct to speak not of a "softening" of the radical nature of "Islamic socialism" in general but of the abandonment in the 1970's-1980's by the most conservative politicians and ideologists of the slogans of socialism, even "Islamic". As a whole, however, I would like once again to stress that "Islamic socialism," regardless of the content invested therein--populist (Libya) or bourgeois-conservative (Morocco)--represents various versions of a "third way" in the religious-ethical form most acceptable to the mass consciousness.

The theory of the "Islamic way" of development (of "Islamic socialism" included) reflects predominantly the ideas of petty bourgeois socialism. Whereas here the synthesis of traditional and modern ideas is a result of the synthesis of prebourgeois and bourgeois elements in the socioeconomic



development of oriental countries and their inclusion in the capitalist market, the "synthesis" of traditions and elements of socialism has occurred to a considerable extent under the influence of external ideas.

M. Stepanyants

Your last assertion, Lyudmila Rafailovna, could be interpreted as a recognition that the emergence and development of socialist ideas in countries of the "Muslim world" is the result of the "export of revolution". I agree with you that the influence of the external factor is considerable, but this influence became possible by virtue of favorable objective conditions in the Muslim countries themselves (specifically, thanks to the strength and political assertiveness of the petty bourgeois or so-called "middle" strata).

L. Polonskaya

Undoubtedly, the influence of the external factor is effective only when in Muslim countries certain objective and subjective conditions for its perception take shape. At the same time, however, it is necessary to emphasize that the ideological sabotage of the imperialist powers in the emergent countries and the "export of revolution," of which our ideological adversaries accuse the Soviet Union, are fundamentally different from ideological influence and ideological struggle brought about by the actual existence in the world of two opposite social systems. This ideological struggle is also accompanying the young states' search for their development.

R. Aliyev

I would like in this connection to say a few words about the place of Islam in the ideology of the revolutionary democrats. Their concepts, which are basically petty bourgeois, are distinguished by the greatest contradictoriness.

The revolutionary democrats, who have declared their desire to build socialism, come from the village or urban preproletarian petty bourgeois strata, are frequently religious and preserve a private-ownership mentality justified by religion. Their concepts "synthesize" both ideas developed by the world socialist movement and Arab-Islamic customs and traditions. Religion in these concepts is assigned the role of "compensator" supplementing the imperfection of social with religious relations.

There is historical justification for the fact that national revolutionary democrats appeal to the intellectual fund of their people, whose existence is closely interwoven with Islamic traditions. For this reason the revolutionary democrats would not be able at different stages of the national liberation movement to lead the masses with them without regard for their psychological frame of mind and without using the religious channel of influence on them. We would note that many progressive figures have emerged from the Muslim believer environment (in Algeria, for example). Thus the religious factor in the "national socialism" concepts is not incidental and is not of an exclusively subjective nature. At the same time, however, it has to be considered that many difficulties preventing in a number of cases the national



revolutionaries from holding firm on a genuinely revolutionary-democratic platform and moving in the direction of scientific socialism predetermined by the course of the development of social relations are connected with the appeal to the "Islamic way" of development.

A. Vasilyev

I would like to object to the knowing or involuntary equating by some of my colleagues (not only participating in our discussion) of the "nationalism" and "Islam" concepts and, even more, to the substitution of one concept for the other. Nationalism in the East is spearheaded against nations personifying imperialism or neocolonialism. Nationalism may be both of a purely secular nature (in the Arab countries, for example, the Egyptian philosopher and commentator Sati al-Husri may be considered one of its most consistent representatives) and of a purely Islamic content. In any event, this concept has been used as a weapon in the struggle against imperialism.

R. Aliyev

Allow me to complement your idea. In the eyes of believers Islam sanctifies many aspects of their national individuality, and nationalist ideas are fostered, furthermore, by ideas concerning religious exclusiveness and, in turn, foster them. This complementariness is leading to national and religious traditions being hard to tell apart in the Arab countries.

The revolutionary democrats have on the one hand themselves experienced the impact of the closely interconnected nationalist and religious ideas and, on the other, endeavored in the course of the revolutionary struggle to overcome religious and nationalist narrowness. This duality has been reflected in their attitude toward the "Islamic way" of development and formulation of the question concerning Arab-Islamic civilization. However, by virtue of a number of objective and subjective factors the revolutionary democrats cannot yet abandon the use of Islamic traditions and modern ideological "Islamic way" currents for the political mobilization of the masses.

L. Polonskaya

So, the final question which we have to discuss is that of the historical place of the "Islamic way" ideology and whether it is possible to speak of the practical realization of Islamic development models if only for a short, historically limited period of time.

M. Stepanyants

In order to elucidate the extent to which the "Islamic way" development models are viable and efficient it is necessary, I believe, to analyze what is hidden behind Islamic phraseology. Scholars must understand, for example, how individual Islamic ideologies relate to private ownership. It is particularly important for this to study the situation in Iran and Pakistan, more precisely, the impact of religious prescriptions on their socioeconomic life.

It seems to me that we should not proceed from the a priori accepted guideline wherein an attempt to renounce the Western bourgeois model is regarded as a revolt in a blind alley and not an escape therefrom. Indeed, a way out of medieval backwardness is possible on paths of either bourgeois or socialist revolutionary-democratic transformations. However, it cannot be ruled out that it is an interim path in keeping with the socioeconomic specifics of countries of the "Muslim region" with the distinctiveness of their spiritual culture which could prove fruitful for a certain length of time.

R. Aliyev

Undoubtedly, we must regard the influence of Islam on the social practice of individual countries as a historically inevitable phenomenon. However, as life in the countries in which radical revolutionary-democratic transformations have been implemented shows, the influence of Islam has diminished compared with the first years of independence. Religion here has ceased to perform the role of regulator of policy, ideology and, to a certain extent, social life.

At the same time, however, we should not exaggerate the role of secularization even in the oriental states where radical revolutionary-democratic transformations are being implemented. Theories and models of the "Islamic way" of development will for a certain length of time, I believe, preserve their propaganda and, in certain countries, practical significance.

A. Vasilyev

I would like to stress that imperialist interference and capitalist and neocolonialist exploitation also signify an offensive against the moral-ethical standards of the masses formulated within the framework of religious traditions. Under these conditions broad strata of the population in many Muslim countries are finding in Islam a form of protest against the lifestyle being imposed on them from outside with its worship of the golden calf, further deepening of the gulf between rich and poor, the creation and strengthening of a corrupt elite and its suppression of national culture and preaching of violence and amorality. Religious fighters against imperialism and nationalism are instilling in their sympathizers ideas of industriousness and abstemiousness, enveloping them in Muslim form and employing precisely the egalitarian aspect of Islam. It is no accident, therefore, that Washington has felt it urgently necessary to attempt to knock the mass Muslim movement from anti-imperialist positions and turn it against national-democratic organizations.

L. Polonskaya

We have attempted in the discussion to touch on certain aspects of the social process connected with the contemporary "Islamic revival" phenomenon in Asian and African countries. The facts testify that currently Islamic development concepts and models are a means of political mobilization of the masses.

On the eve and at the outset of the 1980's it had become increasingly obvious that the attempts to modernize oriental society per the Western model had failed. For a number of reasons (the oil factor, the turbulent urbanization process, the Near East political crisis and the specifics of Islam itself making it possible to interpret it not simply as a religion but as a "lifestyle" and particular "extraformational" way of development) "third way" Islamic ideological-political movements became the most prevalent. Social strata connected with prebourgeois and petty commodity social structures became involved increasingly actively in political life. It is their interests which have been considered primarily by the Islamic "third way" concepts ("Islamic fundamentalism" or "revival of Islam").

By the mid-1980's the scope of the Islamic movements had diminished somewhat. However, a reverse process cannot be ruled out. According to the forecasts of Soviet scholars, the "Islamic factor" will for a long time to come play an important part in the policy of Muslim countries. It should also be emphasized that there has been a sharp growth currently in the use of "militant Islam" and its conservative elements by the forces of imperialism and reaction.

Of course, our discussion has been confined to a narrow range of questions. Such problems as political and social differentiation within Muslim organizations and movements and many others have remained on the sidelines. Investigating them is extremely important for a constructive dialogue with those who aspire in the Muslim countries to social progress and the averting of the nuclear threat looming over our planet and for a global approach to the question of the peaceful coexistence of states belonging to different social systems. As the CPSU Central Committee Political Report to the 27th party congress observed, "the Soviet public is ready to continue to develop relations with noncommunist currents and organizations, religious included, which are opposed to war" (4).

We hope that the subject of our roundtable will be continued and developed in the journal.

#### (CENTER)FOOTNOTES

1. "Material of the 27th CPSU Congress," Moscow, 1986, p 16.
2. The Islamic dinar is the standard unit of payment used by the Islamic Development Bank; per the 1986 exchange rate it was the equivalent of \$US1.2.

3. V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 17, p 423.

4. "Material of the 27th CPSU Congress," p 74.

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### THIRD WORLD ISSUES

#### PAST DIFFICULTIES, CURRENT SUCCESSES OF ANC JOURNAL SECHABA

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 1, Jan 87 pp 32-33

[Article by L. Terekhov, candidate of philological sciences: "Twenty Years of Struggle for Freedom"]

[Text] An African with a shield brandishes a spear at the enemy. This drawing, the symbol of the South African ANC people's army--Umkhonto wa Sizwe--is depicted in the upper left-hand corner of the cover of each issue of the journal SECHABA. This January it was 20 years old. The word "sechaba" in Sotho, one of the most most widespread languages of Africans of South Africa, means "the nation". The journal is the official organ of the ANC--the leading national liberation organization of South Africa and vanguard of the struggle against racism and apartheid.

There is profound historic meaning in the Umkhonto emblem. More than 100 years ago, in 1879, Zulu warriors, armed precisely with shields and spears, won a convincing victory in fighting at Isandhlwana over the powerful British colonial army. This was the first major success in the history of Africans' national liberation struggle, which was mentioned by F. Engels. And now, having entered a decisive stage of the fight against the apartheid regime for their national liberation, the oppressed masses of South Africa believe in ultimate victory, remaining true to the memory of the heroes of Isandhlwana.

The 1960's, when the first issues of SECHABA came off the presses, were the most difficult in the history of the activity of the ANC. In 1960, following the slaughter perpetrated by racist police in the African township of Sharpeville, the ANC was banned and shortly afterward went underground. The mass and cruel reprisals which followed struck a severe blow at the congress. The ANC leadership had not even had time in that period to reorganize its activity and had not acquired sufficient experience of clandestine struggle. As a result of a police raid in 1963 the illegal headquarters of the organization were broken up. ANC leaders N. Mandela, W. Sisulu, G. Mbeki and a number of other leaders of the national liberation movement were sentenced by a racist court to life imprisonment. Escaping the repression, hundreds of activist-patriots were forced to emigrate.

It was for these reasons that as of the mid-1960's questions of leadership of the struggle came under the jurisdiction of the center of the ANC abroad,

whose headquarters were set up in Tanzania. Under the conditions the most important task was the organization of information-propaganda work, primarily the regular publication of a periodical press organ.

The need for its creation had been brought about by a number of factors. First, under the conditions of racist terror in respect of the national liberation forces and the smashing of the majority of the ANC's underground structures even the illegal publication of such a journal in South Africa was in that period an extraordinarily difficult business. Second, what would seem most essential, the ANC had under the new conditions to tackle a most important international task--organize the notification of the international community of the situation in South Africa and the struggle of its patriotic forces and also contribute to the development of the world campaign of solidarity with the South African patriots and for the comprehensive isolation of the apartheid regime.

Regular publication of the journal began in January 1967. For approximately 2.5 years SECHABA was published directly by the headquarters of the center of the ANC abroad in the Tanzanian capital of Dar es Salaam. Then the journal's editorial office was transferred to London. This was caused primarily by the fact that London had become the center of the activity of the leadership of various progressive South African emigre organizations, primarily the South African Communist Party.

From the very outset the ANC leadership endeavored to ensure as high a professional level of the publication as possible. For this purpose M.P. (Nayker), the outstanding South African journalist, politician and public figure, was appointed chief editor of SECHABA. Shortly after having emigrated from South Africa in 1965, M.P. (Nayker) became director of the ANC Foreign Center Information and Public Relations Department. He had a tremendous role in the organization of the journal and wrote many striking advocacy articles. After the death of M.P. (Nayker) (1977), SECHABA was headed by the prominent South African commentator F. Meli.

The creation of SECHABA, which was aimed primarily at a broad foreign readership, was a fundamentally new and significant phenomenon for the contemporary stage of the liberation movement in Southern Africa. With the collapse of imperialism's colonial system and the attraction to the orbit of international relations of a large number of young African and Asian states there has been an increase in the role of qualitatively new factors connected with the development of the national liberation process. These include a marked growth in the interest of the broadest strata of the international community in the events in Southern Africa. And constantly growing international solidarity with the struggle of the national-patriotic forces of this part of the world and a strengthening understanding of the fact that the struggle of the patriots of Namibia and South Africa is contributing to the accomplishment of a most pressing present-day task--elimination of the vestiges of colonialism and racism.

In the first half of the 1970's the ANC, having recovered from the blows struck at it by the racist regime, was able to recreate in the country a network of underground cells, whose activists organized the dissemination of

part of the print of SECHABA in the homeland. This is how F. Meli defines the nature of the journal's activity and the ways of accomplishment of its main tasks: "As propagandists, we offer people ideas, opinions and arguments; we disseminate, explain and formulate concepts, theoretical propositions, political theories and knowledge. We inform, comment upon, evaluate and analyze in order to influence people in the necessary direction. In other words, we convert theoretical knowledge into the mass consciousness. All this presupposes knowledgeability concerning the specific situation in the homeland and consideration of the mentality of our people and the specific interests of the people we are addressing. We endeavor to expose the enemy in forms which are intelligible and comprehensible to people. We speak in simple language which is African in content and English in form. As agitators, we prompt people to action and to the organization of demonstrations and strikes. We show which specific actions need to be performed."

The journal SECHABA has trodden a great and glorious path in the past 20 years. At the present time its circulation constitutes over 20,000 copies. With the help of ANC representatives in various countries and also by subscription SECHABA is disseminated in Africa and Europe, Asia and America. The journal has become a truly mass platform of the South African ANC and South Africa's entire national liberation movement.

In addition, one further most important factor, by virtue of which the role and place of the ANC press organ are truly unique, needs to be considered also. Under the conditions of the incessant racist terror, against the press included, which has led to the closure of practically all truly democratic publications and the fanning of campaigns of disinformation and lies on the part of both South African semi-official and imperialist propaganda in respect of the situation in South Africa, the press of the national liberation movement is becoming the sole source of truthful information concerning the situation in the country.

And, truly, there has been no event in the life of the people of South Africa which has not been truthfully and objectively reflected in the journal. But SECHABA can least of all be termed a passive observer. From the very first issue it has been a passionate fighter against racism and apartheid and genuine champion of the rights and interests of all oppressed and exploited South Africans.

SECHABA is rightly considered an "encyclopedia of South African reality". The journal has an extensive network of correspondents supplying it with exhaustive information on everything that occurs in South Africa. In concise notes and essays, interviews and problem-analyzing articles of diverse content it cogently exposes the socioeconomic, political and military strategy of the apartheid state and shows its antipopular and aggressive nature. SECHABA reveals the true essence of the so-called "reforms" of the Pretoria regime, emphasizing that they are aimed at splitting the oppressed majority and perpetuating the apartheid system. At the center of the ANC press organ's attention is the struggle of the African majority against racism and apartheid, struggle in all forms and manifestations, including armed opposition to the oppressors. SECHABA pays exceptionally great attention to the combat operations of the militarized wing of the ANC--Umkhonto wa Sizwe.



The publication regularly carries theoretical articles devoted to various problems of the strategy and tactics of the ANC, questions of the correlation of the class and national factors in the liberation struggle, mutual relations of the worker and national liberation movements, problems of the creation of a united antiracist front and so forth.

SECHABA constantly exposes the policy of the imperialist powers aimed at all-around support for the apartheid regime, primarily the U.S. Administration's policy of so-called "constructive engagement" with South Africa. The journal has pointed out repeatedly that support for the Pretoria regime on the part of the West is a most important factor inspiring the South African racists to increasingly new crimes against the population of their country and the escalation of aggressive operations against neighboring sovereign states.

SECHABA rebuffs the ideological sabotage of South African and Western imperialist propaganda aimed at discrediting the forces of progress of national liberation. Thus it has repeatedly revealed the fraudulent and groundless nature of Washington's concept in respect of national liberation movements--that of combating so-called "international terrorism".

SECHABA has a great role as organizer of campaigns of international solidarity with the struggle of the oppressed masses of South Africa. Numerous and diverse measures implemented by the ANC on the international scene in defense of the fighters against racism and apartheid and for all-around isolation of the Pretoria regime are strikingly illustrated on its pages.

A central place here is occupied by the struggle for the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners of apartheid and for the repeal of the death sentences passed on fighters of Umkhonto wa Sizwe and other patriots caught by the racist secret police. And it has to be said that these powerful campaigns are producing specific results. In a number of instances the racists have been forced under the pressure of the world community to retreat and commute death sentences on the freedom fighters. Thus have the lives of ANC members--the young fighters of Umkhonto D. Lubisi, P. Mashugo, N. Manana. A. Tsotsobe, I. Shabangu and D. Moize--been saved.

A important place in the publication is occupied by the subject of the role and significance of progressive culture and art in the struggle for national liberation. This includes the series of serious articles of literary criticism entitled "Poetry en Route to Revolution," an account of the triumphant tours of the ANC's Amandla ensemble--a kind of political theater--and the poems published in virtually every issue of both well-known professional poets who are participants in the liberation struggle and those who are just starting out. Such material is of particular significance because it familiarizes broad circles of the international community with the revolutionary art of the people of South Africa and shows that their culture even under the conditions of apartheid is alive and developing, becoming an important tool in the struggle for freedom.

The events of the past 2 years, which have been marked by a most powerful upsurge of the antiracist movement and which have brought South Africa to the



brink of civil war, have set the ANC and its press organ new tasks. The journal has become--and this may be said without exaggeration--the main chronicler of the present turbulent events in the south of the continent. The seething African townships arise from its pages, as it were. Reading the lines about the daily mass protests of the oppressed majority against apartheid and the reprisals of the army and the police against peaceful demonstrators, which are reminiscent of dispatches from the front, one gets a realistic and visible idea of the menacing situation in the country, whose people have embarked on a decisive engagement with the enemy.

In the past 20 years SECHARA has performed a prominent role in consolidation of the efforts of the progressive international community aimed at the elimination of racism and apartheid in South Africa. The journal is of great mobilizing significance inside the country also. All these years SECHARA has been at the forward edge of the struggle to do away with the colonial-racist regime and build a peaceful, democratic and multiracial South Africa.

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### THIRD WORLD ISSUES

#### DADIANI BOOK ASSAILS IDEOLOGY OF 'SOCIAL ZIONISM'

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 1, Jan 87 pp 62-63

[Review by V. Benevolenskiy, doctor of historical sciences: "Pseudo-Socialist Variety of Zionism"]

[Text] The history of social Zionism is inseparably connected with the history of international Zionism and the creation and activity of the state of Israel. The most reactionary form of Jewish bourgeois nationalism, Zionism represents the ideology and political practice of Israel's ruling circles and the chauvinist strata of the bourgeoisie of Jewish origin inseparably connected with the ruling classes of the United States and other imperialist powers. By virtue of its class nature Zionism is the implacable enemy of social progress and peace.

The social Zionist parties, which have for almost 30 years performed the dominating role in Israel's state system, bear full responsibility for the conversion of this state into a tool of the most reactionary imperialist forces in the Near East.

L. Dadiani (\*) has concentrated attention on a most complex and little-studied aspect of the problem of social Zionism, showing that for their practical purposes the Zionists formulated a so-called worker, social-reformist ideology. The author cogently reveals the content and specific features of this ideology, which represents a particular danger inasmuch as it is camouflaged by pseudosocialist slogans and is aimed at the decomposition of the workers movement "from within". As the book emphasizes, "the creation of all kinds of 'worker' and 'socialist' Zionist organizations was not the consequence of Jewish working people's adoption of Zionist tenets but represented mainly the particular reaction of some Zionist leaders, who attempted to adapt to criticism on the part of revolutionary social democracy" (p 8).

Adhering to precise class standpoints, the author makes an in-depth and comprehensive analysis of social Zionism and shows its place in the system of international Zionism. It is "worker" Zionists who for almost 50 years have headed the executive bodies of the World Zionist Organization (WZO). The author puts into scientific circulation a large number of sources making it possible to trace the evolution of the "worker" Zionists from the time of the

inception of this current on the eve and at the outset of the 20th century right up to our day.

The book shows the comprehensive struggle conducted by the Bolsheviks headed by V.I. Lenin against the Jewish petty bourgeois nationalists in Russia, including the Bund and the social Zionists themselves. The author exposes the ideological diversions of the Zionist figures who are advancing the slogan of the "combination of Zionism and Marxism," showing the incompatibility of proletarian internationalism and social Zionist nationalism.

The realization in the Soviet Union of the consistently democratic solution of the "Jewish question" struck a devastating blow at Zionist propaganda. "The Leninist national policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government," L. Dadiani writes, "has led to the complete and conclusive ideological-political bankruptcy on the territory of our country of each and every Jewish (as of every other) nationalist organization" (p 119).

Although questions of the Zionist colonization of Palestine have been illustrated in depth repeatedly in Marxist scientific literature, the author has been able to ascertain and study a number of new aspects graphically attesting the decisive role of the social Zionist parties in realization of the plans of the WZO for the creation of a Jewish state thanks to robbery of the Arabs.

The author consistently reveals the reactionary nature of the domestic policy course of Israel's main social Zionist party, the Mapai-Rafi, which for many years directed this country's official policy. An analysis of this policy testifies that the Mapai-Rafi is increasingly showing itself to be a chauvinist-racist pro-imperialist party. This party invariably pursues a policy of discrimination against and national oppression of the country's Arab population and also actual communal discrimination against Jews from Arab countries and Asia and Africa.

L. Dadiani cogently shows that anticommunism and anti-Sovietism are characteristic of all Zionist currents and parties. It was as a result of the policy of the Mapai-Rafi leaders, the author emphasizes, that "Israel has become a principal center of anti-Sovietism and anticommunism and an outpost of imperialism in the Near East aimed against the national liberation movement of the Arab countries and peoples and has become a the 'regional gendarme' of the United States and a participant in the pursuit of the imperialist powers' neocolonialist policy in African, Asian and Latin American countries" (p 199).

The chapter which examines such specifically Israeli institutions as the Histadrut and the kibbutz (Jewish settlements on Palestinian territory) and shows their true class essence and role and place in the country's sociopolitical life seems very valuable.

A definite shortcoming of the author is, perhaps, the somewhat unduly complex nature of the work. Making a thorough, detailed and cogent critical analysis of complex and confused problems, in a number of instances he proceeds from the fact that the reader already possesses particular knowledge with respect to the history of Zionism and is familiar with the key propositions of the

Zionist ideological program and the organized structure of international Zionism.

But the said shortcomings do not detract from the significance of L. Dadiani's monograph.

(CENTER)FOOTNOTE

- L.Ya. Dadiani, "Kritika ideologii i politiki sotsial-zionizma" [Critique of the Ideology and Policy of Social Zionism], Moscow, "Mysl", 1986, pp 351.

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### THIRD WORLD ISSUES

#### BOOK EXAMINES JAPANESE CULTURE, ROOTS OF 'ULTRANATIONALISM'

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 1, Jan 87 pp 63-64

[Review by V. Grivnin, doctor of philological sciences: "Four Centuries of Japanese Culture"]

[Text] There are many studies devoted to individual problems of Japan's cultural life. There are books on the history of Japanese fine and applied art, film industry, Kabuki and Noh theater and contemporary Japanese theater, which, incidentally, the author of the work in question (\*) has studied very successfully for many years. But these are mainly monographical studies only partially dealing with general problems of the formation of Japanese national culture. This is why L. Grisheleva's attempt to paint a summary picture of its formation is highly pertinent.

Clearly, the task which the author set herself was so wide-ranging that the scholar was forced to limit herself both chronologically and thematically. Otherwise the work could never have been brought to a successful conclusion. The question is: has this chronological and thematic framework been correctly chosen? The end of the 16th-start of the 20th century was a period of the centralization of power and the conversion of Japan into a highly developed capitalist state. In other words, L. Grisheleva has traced the history of Japanese culture from the period when the Japanese national character began to develop into a nation through the formation and development of the bourgeois nation.

It is thanks to a correct comprehension of her task that the author manages to investigate the complex processes of Japan's cultural life.

The analysis of the history of publishing, which performed a colossal role in the spiritual formation of the Japanese nation, is extraordinarily interesting. It was in this period that moveable type appeared. In Europe this phenomenon caused a revolution in publishing. L. Grisheleva examines the reasons why such a revolution did not occur in Japan.

All the sections devoted to art provide a sufficiently full and detailed picture of this aspect of the life of the Japanese people. The author analyzes the problems of art in close connection with social issues. The Kabuki and Noh theaters reflected the life of society and its new view of art and

architecture. L. Grisheleva has succeeded in her study of this phenomenon in showing the character of the era in relief.

The study of cultural processes in the period of the country's isolation is, it would seem to us, a key aspect for an understanding of the singularities of Japanese national culture. Isolated from the outside world, Japan embarked on a specific path of development in all respects, in the cultural respect particularly. It is therefore no accident that the author pays such great attention to the lifestyle of Japanese society at that time, examining the particular features inherent in the martial sphere, the court aristocracy, the peasants, urban residents and the clergy. This makes it possible to find the right tone for a characterization of the period encompassing the first half of the 17th through the mid-19th century.

Analyzing the period of the formation and development of the bourgeois nation (mid-19th-start of the 20th century), in the final chapter the author concentrates attention on the changes in the country's cultural life produced by the Meiji revolution. Japan's "opening" which had preceded it and the revolution itself engendered phenomena which quite recently even had seemed inconceivable. L. Grisheleva devotes many pages to the processes of the borrowing of Western culture and the distortions which accompanied this borrowing. A special section is devoted to the ultranationalist trends which were conceived in this period and which largely conditioned the ideological and cultural life of Japan and which continue even now to perform a considerable role.

Concerning religion, the author reveals the difference between the traditional Shintoism which had not hitherto occupied that great a place in the ideological sphere and the Shintoism which had been made the official religion. L. Grisheleva emphasizes its reactionary nature and tremendous role in the kindling of nationalist sentiments.

L. Grisheleva's study illustrates in a new light the complex and manifold phenomena of Japanese national culture and ultimately permits a clear understanding of the kind of people the Japanese are.

(CENTER)FOOTNOTE

- L.D. Grisheleva, "Formirovaniye yaponskoy natsionalnoy kultury. Konets XVI-nachalo XX veka" [Formation of Japanese National Culture. End of 16th-Start of 20th Century], Moscow, Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatelstva "Nauka", 1986, pp 286.

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## GENERAL ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

### MOSCOW PRESS CONFERENCE ON IMPROVING FOREIGN TRADE

LD280100 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1645 GMT 27 Mar 87

[Text] A press conference on the subject of improving the USSR's foreign trade links was held for Soviet and foreign journalists today in the press center of the USSR Foreign Ministry in Moscow. Taking part in the press conference were Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Council of Ministers' State Foreign Trade Commission; Aristov, USSR minister of foreign trade; Katushev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations; Ivanov, chairman of the USSR Foreign Trade Bank, and Komplektov, deputy USSR foreign minister. The press conference was conducted by Gerasimov, chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry. [as heard--Moscow Television Service in Russian at 2005 GMT on 27 March, in a similar item on the press conference filed as LD280130 and add, notes that the press conference was conducted by Yu.A. Gremetskikh.]

In his speech of introduction, Vladimir Mikhaylovich Kamentsev said in particular:

[Begin recording] [Kamentsev] The radical change in foreign economic activity corresponds fully with the directions taken by the restructuring that is taking place in our country, and is overall an organic part of the strategic course of acceleration that has been developed in our country. Foreign trade makes a weighty contribution to the development of our economy. However, to develop further using traditional methods has become, to put it frankly, simply impossible. The current scale and structure of our trade, scientific, technological, and production links no longer correspond with the requirement for intensification of the national economy and the acceleration of scientific and technological progress. The export potential of our processing industry, first and foremost the machine-building industry, is still being put to insufficient use, and the switchover to broad-scale scientific, technological and manufacturing coproduction has been carried out slowly--very slowly. This situation, in our view, is largely the consequence of outmoded methods of managing foreign economic activity and a lack of coordination between industry and foreign trade.

With a view to producing a radical improvement in that activity, our party Central Committee and the Soviet Government have passed a resolution on measures to improve the management of foreign economic links and a resolution on measures for the management of economic, scientific, and technological cooperation with the socialist countries. These resolutions have become part of the profound restructuring of the economic mechanism in the Soviet Union in accordance with the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress.

The fundamental line in the measures that I have mentioned is, while retaining and developing the principle of a state monopoly on foreign trade, to substantially broaden the rights held by ministries, departments, associations, and enterprises, to give them broad access to the external market, and to enhance the interest in developing international coproduction and accelerating the introduction of the latest scientific and technological achievements with the aim, most importantly, of increasing the effectiveness of our foreign economic links.

Today 21 ministries and departments, and 75 major associations and enterprises have been given the right to take a direct part in export-import operations, in other words to have direct access to the external market. They will carry out their commercial operations via the financially-autonomous foreign trade associations and firms that have been established among them. In economic cooperation with the socialist countries it is planned that there will be a switchover from primarily trade relations that we have had to date, to extensive manufacturing specialization and coproduction; in other words trade links will be expanding substantially toward coproduction.

Underlying all this work is the consistent implementation of the accords reached at summit level and the comprehensive program for scientific and technological progress among the CEMA countries up to the year 2000. In 1986 our fraternal parties completed their work to coordinate the inter-governmental agreements aimed at broadly developing direct links and creating a network of joint enterprises and international associations. The number of enterprises and organizations with direct links between each other on the basis of agreements already concluded amounts today to 424, and in the near future they will increase to 700. Twenty-nine joint enterprises are being established, 7 of which are on the territory of the Soviet Union, and in addition more than 80 international associations and organizations are to be established.

What I would say is that the experience of the operation of two Soviet-Bulgarian international associations based on the Krasnyy Proletariy Association and the Ivanovo Machine-tool Building Association has shown the great, the very great possibilities for this form of cooperation. The measures being taken open up broad possibilities for accelerating the process of socialist economic integration, the strengthening of links with the developing countries, and the broadening of cooperation with capitalist countries.



We see considerable possibilities here. This is true for practically all kinds of links such as commercial, financial-credit, scientific-technical, coproduction, establishing joint enterprises, etc. This work has already been started. As is known, cooperation is a reciprocal matter. We need here a strict regard for mutual interests, complete renunciation of all kinds of litigations, boycotts, and embargoes. In today's world, economic relations may be built only on the basis of equal rights, confidence, and strict observance of mutual accords. It is simply unreasonable to act in defiance of this, surrendering commercial-economic relations to unseemly political considerations. The experience that both you and we have shows complete unsoundness at such attempts. Taking this into account, a new thesis on the establishing of an international system of economic security, within the framework of which it could be possible to eliminate all that is currently a burden on international economic links, was submitted in the political report of the party Central Committee to the 27th congress. In applying new forms of economic ties, the Soviet state, in cooperation with foreign partners, will be relying on adherence to the principles of mutual profitability, and will guarantee respect for the interests and rights of our foreign partners.

[Gremetskikh] Our colleague from RIZOSPASTIS would like to ask a question.

[Correspondent in Russian] RIZOSPASTIS, Greece. Could you tell, please, why the Soviet Union has come to the aid of cooperation in the form of joint enterprises? Is it a new line or the development of Lenin's idea of concessions?

[Kamentsev] I would give this answer: No doubt, this is a continuous line; of course it is a continuous line. Lenin never stopped stressing the need for involving progressive and new links with foreign countries and involving foreign experience in developing the construction of our state. Therefore, like the concessions of the 1920s, joint enterprises also set the task of attracting new equipment and new technologies. But already there are differences. We live in a different time, not in the 1920s when our state had recovered from devastation, and therefore, we now experience no need to surrender individual sectors of our economy to the complete management of some other state. We want, and are able, to cooperate on the basis of equality, and we see such cooperation within the framework of a kind of joint enterprise.

[Gremetskikh] Let me take care of written questions. A question from MOSCOW NEWS: When precisely are joint enterprises to first start operating on the territory of the Soviet Union? And here is a big and fundamental question from THE GUARDIAN: As far as we know, Soviet ministries and organizations have signed several hundreds of preliminary agreements with Western companies regarding plans for taking part in establishing joint enterprises. No specific and final agreements, however, have been reached so far. As we see it, the Soviet Government intends to give its approval to the organization of a limited number of joint enterprises in the next 2 years. Could you tell us, first, what is the number of joint initiatives, approximately--it seems they mean joint enterprises--to be approved for the 2-year period? And, second, what are the criteria used in selecting the most promising joint initiatives--joint enterprises--from the host of already considered proposals?

[Kamentsev] I am able to say that there is a very great deal of interest both among big, sizeable firms, and among small firms in various countries. Today we have over 200 specific proposals; 121 such proposals have been examined and worked on, certain negotiations, that is, have been conducted, and these proposals are of definite interest both for us and for those who sent them. Work on 39 proposals is already in the ultimate stages, so to speak, that is, protocols have already been signed on intentions. And there are 12 enterprises which are already virtually being implemented. Agreement has been reached with Finland on establishing a joint enterprise in the sphere of tourism--the Hotel Berlin here in Moscow, that is, will be a joint enterprise; with Japan, on the manufacture of sawn timber, and processing of seafood; with the FRG, on the manufacture of self-propelled high payload capacity cranes; with the Salamander firm on footwear manufacture and a whole series of other enterprises; with the United States on mineral fertilizer production, and so forth. With the socialist countries, there is the Petrobalt joint enterprise, working on the Baltic Sea shelf; this is a GDR, PPR and USSR joint enterprise. There are joint enterprises with Hungary, a joint automobile electronics enterprise with Bulgaria, and so on. We are committed to this, and we have no interest in any sort of short-term ties. We have an interest in stable, very long-term ties.

I would like to tell you that the partners with which we are dealing specifically at the moment are firms which we have been dealing with for more than a decade: that is, our cooperation has been tested by time.

[Gremetskikh] There is a whole group of questions. First, Boris Ivanovich Aristov: What are the general results of the USSR's foreign trade for 1986? The Novosti press agency is asking this.

[Aristov] The country's foreign trade results last year were unfavorable. You know that the overall reduction in the volume of foreign trade amounted to 8 percent. True, it should be said that this is chiefly connected with the serious fluctuations in prices, especially of raw materials and energy resources on the world market. If we take the volume of our trade in the comparable prices of 1985, leaving out last year's fluctuations, then according to comparable prices, the volume nevertheless increased by about 2 percent. That is, the physical volume of our trade has not diminished; the reduction is due to these price fluctuations.

With regard to trade with the socialist countries. Last year, too, we saw an increase in trade with the socialist countries of about 2.5 percent. [end recording]

The participants in the press conference answered many other questions from Soviet and foreign journalists.

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## GENERAL ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

### NEW DIRECTOR OF FOREIGN TRADE ASSOCIATION APPOINTED

Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 12, Mar 87 p 3

[Article: "Appointments"]

[Text] General Director of the All-Union Cost Accounting Foreign Trade Association of the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry Vladimir Borisovich Ulyanov was born on 5 September 1940. He graduated from the Moscow Textile Institute as a mechanical engineer.

V. B. Ulyanov began his career in 1961 as acting senior scientific associate of the Central Scientific Research Institute of the Cotton Industry of the USSR Ministry of Light Industry, and later he was a group leader. From 1965 to 1967 he was a design engineer at the Moscow Tekstilpribor Plant.

After graduating from the All-Union Academy of Foreign Trade in 1970, V. B. Ulyanov worked as a senior engineer at VO Mashinoeksport and deputy director and director of an office in VO Tekhmasheksport. From 1981 to 1987 he has been deputy general director of VO Tekhmasheksport. He has been appointed general director of the All-Union Cost Accounting Foreign Trade Association of the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry.

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## GENERAL ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

### WESTERN VIEW OF JOINT VENTURES EXAMINED

Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 25 Feb 87 p 3

[Article by G. Dadyants, SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA international observer: "'A Market Potentially the Equivalent of the American Market...']

[Text] Demand gives rise to supply, and supply likewise to demand. The USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Procedure for Creating Joint Enterprises on the Territory of the USSR with the Participation of Soviet Organizations and Firms from Capitalist and Developing Countries, and for Their Activities" has evoked enormous interest in the West. An interest, it must be candidly said, that is ambiguous. Evidently not everything in the decisions adopted by the Soviet government is to the liking of some capitalist firms. For example, our partners in the West are manifestly displeased by the fact that payment of profit in a foreign currency is made from funds derived from the export of goods abroad rather than for sale in the Soviet market. Neither are foreign businessmen very pleased by the fact that the workers and employees of joint enterprises will be subject to Soviet legislation. And some are dissatisfied that in joint enterprises 51 percent of the share capital must be Soviet; they would prefer to gain a "controlling block of shares."

None of these stipulations, however, are hindering Western firms from seeing the new opportunities being opened up for them in the Soviet market. "The joint venture enterprises," the French publication MATIN writes, "open up for the West all the doors of CEMA. And even if the market is assessed without taking into account the numerical strength of the population and effective demand, it can be said that there at only the distance of a cannon shot from the little old lady of Europe is a market potentially the equivalent of the American market."

We note that the Soviet market is not only of interest to "the little old lady of Europe." Chairman of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee K. Pell has called the Soviet decision to set up joint enterprises "an important milestone" in Soviet policy, and he has expressed the hope that these enterprises will be successful.

The weekly U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT reports that three major American firms--Monsanto, Occidental Petroleum and Singer--have announced their intention of taking part in the creation of joint enterprises. In the journal's opinion,



their example may be followed by dozens of other companies.

In France about 100 French firms have offered themselves as candidates for setting up joint stock companies, and 20 of them have already made known their intentions to set up joint enterprises in the USSR. Companies are ready to participate in several ventures of this kind, as, for example, (Interarga), an agro-industrial giant led by (J-B Dumont).

A number of firms--Thomson, Kodak-Pathe, (Technip), (Magra) and (Lectra Systems)--are negotiating with Soviet organizations. The French press reports that the Thomson firm already has a precise portfolio, namely, a plan to create a factory in the USSR to produce television sets and domestic appliances (about 500,000 units annually). Kodak, which was initially working on plans to sell the USSR equipment from its old plant in Vincennes (it was demolished following the transfer of production to premises in a new, ultramodern factory in Chalons-sur-Marne), is today, following publication of the USSR Council of Ministers decree, considering proposing to the Soviet Union "something new, with 1986 equipment rather than 1966 equipment."

French industrialists have every reason to switch more quickly because they have poor technical and marketing competitiveness compared with Italian, Japanese and West German competitors.

We recall that while in the United States, France and other countries in the West they have been raising questions about the supposed "vagueness" of the Soviet proposals, the countries reacting most quickly to the situation have already embarked on the creation of joint enterprises with Soviet organizations. The Finnish airline Finnair has concluded an agreement with the Soviet joint stock company Inturist for the joint construction and operation of a hotel in the USSR. A similar agreement has been concluded between the Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances and the Italian firm FATA, which specializes in the production of refrigerators and cold storage facilities for restaurants and stores; this has already been reported in our newspaper. Output from the plant, which will go into production in February 1989, will, according to newspapers in the West, be exported to third countries, while profits will be shared according to the contribution made by the Soviet and Italian sides.

During the latest session of the Soviet-French "grand commission" in January this year French bankers and industrialists were given detailed information on the joint companies that, perhaps, they lacked. Now they, like our other Western partners, know everything there is to know, and are waiting in line with them.

The new opportunities being opened up for firms in the West in the Soviet market require quick and immediate decisions from them. Those who spend too much time weighing and discussing the matter risk, as always, being left at the post.

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CSO: 1825/124

## GENERAL ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

### DEPUTY MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON JOINT VENTURE PROBLEMS

Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 13 Feb 87 p 3

[Interview with V. Skryabin, deputy minister of the machine tool and tool building industry, by SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA special correspondent D. Murzin: "The Plant imeni S. Ordzhonikidze and the (Heinemann) Firm: the First Step in a Joint Venture"; date and place not specified; first paragraph is SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA introduction]

[Text] About two dozen well-known firms from the developed capitalist countries have received offers from the Ministry of Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry to set up joint venture enterprises. Protocols have been signed with three of them. What are the problems that have arisen here and how are they being solved? Deputy minister V. Skryabin answers questions from our special correspondent D. Murzin.

[Question] Vasiliiy Georgiyevich, first of all, let us define the boundaries of the concept. What does "joint production" mean? What place will it occupy in the sector structure?

[Answer] Let me clarify things with an example. Say that the Moscow Machine Building Plant imeni S. Ordzhonikidze and the West German (Heinemann) firm have signed a protocol to set up a joint enterprise and design bureau based on a head plant to produce and market up-to-date metalworking equipment and flexible production modules and systems. It is also proposed to set up a joint production branch at the (Heinemann) firm for quick fabrication of individual kinds of equipment ordered by clients in the FRG. The approximate annual production volume is 150 machine tools of various kinds.

It is important to understand the dual nature of these kinds of production facilities. On the one hand, there is a completely independent, cost-accounting enterprise and a separate legal entity with all the rights and obligations stemming from this. This is the newly created firm. We even think that it should be separated territorially from the main output of the Moscow plant.

On the other hand, the firm will interact closely with the Soviet association, whose general director should be a member of the board for the joint enterprise. The Moscow plant will supply the joint enterprise with assemblies

and parts on the basis of close cooperation, while costs for their fabrication will make up an integral part of the contribution made by the Moscow plant to the joint venture firm.

These are the main outlines. It is still too early to talk about the final forms; they will be determined by the charter for the joint enterprise, and the representatives of the plant and the West German firm are now working on this.

[Question] A few words about the contributions made by the parties. Are there any kind of regulations here that strictly dictate the division of the share capital between the partners?

Answer] There is only mandatory rule: the amount of share capital from the Soviet side must be at least 51 percent. How this is arranged is insured by mutual agreement. The forms of our contributions can be easily predicted. The contribution will include the production area, materials, and energy resources. We also assign our own personnel, that is, labor resources that will make up part of the contribution.

Our partners can make their contribution in the form of up-to-date equipment and materials not available in our country, the granting of licenses and "know-how," some of the personnel, and so forth, and also straight monetary contributions and credits.

[Question] You said that our workers and specialists will make up the basis of personnel for the joint enterprise. What principle will be used to choose them?

[Answer] The purpose in setting up joint venture firms is to insure maximum advantage to the two sides through high production efficiency. This can be achieved only on the basis of lowering output prime costs and improving competitiveness. Everything here is interlinked: the technical level, the production technology, the organization of labor; everything must be at the highest level. Including, and first and foremost, the workers. What is needed are professionals. And we are already working actively to improve people's skills at all levels.

Also, in order to exchange experience we are going to invite specialists from the firms, primarily production organizers, designers and developers and technologists, to take over key posts. The task is to make every possible use of the strong aspects of the two partners to their common advantage. Especially in questions of improving output quality.

[Question] The choice of the work site is a voluntary matter. How are you going to attract the professionals?

[Answer] There will be no lack of interesting work here. And, of course, economic incentives. We are convinced that working at this kind of enterprise should be prestigious, not only in substance but also wages. We are simply obligated to create the kind of conditions in which a person will really place a high value on his work place.

Apart from anything else, a highly profitable joint venture enterprise should set for the workers at the main association a graphic example of high production standards and work organization. So that everyone can see how things have been set up, how, if you like, success has been achieved in the work. So that there is a desire to have everything "here with us" not worse but even better than "there with them"

[Question] Vasilii Georgiyevich, will working and everyday conditions for the workers at joint venture enterprises be improved through the profit made?

[Answer] Of course. The collective will work according to Soviet laws, and this means that it will be able to dispose of part of the profit as it sees fit--to develop production, make improvements in the social sphere and so forth.

There is also another nuance. This is a question of the role and place of our public organizations. In our view they should be common to the entire association. Although, say, the trade union at the joint venture enterprise should obviously conclude its own agreement with the administration. The public life of the joint venture firm will be inseparable from the public life of the association as a whole.

[Question] A final question. What is the "geography" of your proposals to foreign partners?

[Answer] They include leading firms in the FRG, Italy, France, Sweden, Finland and Austria. Of course, when selecting partners we have taken into account their past links in cooperation and the need to expand them, and the prestige of the firms. And also, naturally, the fact that the output that will be produced by the joint venture enterprises will be earmarked not only for delivery in the domestic markets of the partners but also for export to third countries.

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UNITED STATES AND CANADA

FALIN COUNTERS WICK SPEECH ON OPENNESS

PM011519 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 13, 29 Mar 87 pp 3-4

[Feature incorporating reprint of speech by USIA Director Wick, commentary by Valentine Falin under the headline: "The Soviet Reconstruction: Charles Wick Vs. Reality" first two grafs are unattributed introduction]

[Text] We are just beginning. Not everyone understands our visionary goals, and much effort still needs to be spent in the struggle to decide how to exactly continue the reconstruction. But one thing is already clear: the eyes of the whole world are following the changes taking place in the Soviet Union.

While the majority of these are benevolent and well-wishing, there are others, the latter represented by such people as Charles Wick, head of the U.S. foreign propaganda department. We would like to bring one of his recent speeches to the attention of our readers. He sees the promotion of glasnost in our country, let alone the reconstructions as a whole, as a very dangerous threat to the security of the United States. Why? This question is answered by Valentin Falin, Chairman of the Board of the NOVOSTI Press Agency.

Glasnost: The Challenge to U.S. Public Diplomacy. By Charles Z. Wick, Director, United States Information Agency

I am honored to address you today. You represent the best of America's advertising--the world most dynamic and most effective.

I have looked forward to being with you for three reasons. First, because I have many friends in the advertising business whom I admire. They have talents and stamina in an intensely competitive field. As to advertising, I know, if you can make it there, you can make it anywhere.

Secondly, because we share an interest in communications. And thirdly, because all of us here are involved, one way or another, in a dramatic trend in international relations, the ever widening influence of advertising and public relations in world affairs.

In a recent editorial, ADVERTISING AGE confirmed: "Without a doubt, global marketing is before us."

In your business, advertising, this means, as more countries open their airwaves to commercial broadcasting, the sales messages of your clients can reach new and larger audiences. And, through these messages, you market values and ideas to the world--the values and ideas contained in American products and services.

In my business--"public diplomacy"--we also market a product--the values and ideas of the free world itself. Specifically, we tell America's story to the world--the story of our democracy, our people, and our nation's policies.

Thus, the alliance between advertising and international politics is close. But, it is not new.

In fact, this alliance dates back to the Creel Committee of World War I, and the Office of War Information created in World War II. Both spearheaded America's war-time information effort. Following World War II, these activities were transferred to the State Department, and your own Bill Benton became the Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, the forerunner of the United States Information Agency-USIA.

Nonetheless, something is new--the new central role that advertising and public relations play in East-West politics.

Since 1945, the world has been a battleground for a "war of ideas"--a war where the great traditions of the Western democracies, including the philosophies of Jefferson, Madison, and Lincoln, have been engaged in combat against the ideologies of Marx, Lenin, Stalin and Mao.

Lately, however, this competition has become highly sophisticated.

General Secretary Gorbachev's ascent to power has encouraged a new and more dynamic leadership. Moscow is marketing a new image of openness to the world. They call this product "glasnost." But, "glasnost" is more than a product. It is a public relations campaign. The Soviets are trying to win the war of symbols. If they win, they will have won the war of public diplomacy.

And, what would we lose?

Most dramatically, we could lose our security. We need not be reminded that, if there should be a war, there will be no winners. The loser will lose, and the winner will lose. That will be the ultimate penalty for miscalculation.

In the longer term, if we lose the "war of ideas," we could jeopardize the very soul of the Free World, its life today and its promise for security tomorrow.

Thus, the following question has a seriousness unparalleled, perhaps, in our history. Does this new image portend a change in Soviet objectives; or, are they merely wrapping themselves in a Messianic mantle of false justice, a false economy, false fraternity, and false promises?

As you would say, is "glasnost" truth-in-packaging, or is it deceptive promotion?

This is the central question of our day. And its answer is crucial to all who seek a lasting peace.

To date, the answer is unclear. But, daily, we are following a positive, and perhaps, promising litany of Soviet actions. They are selling an image of "glasnost," and progress towards a better world. They have captured the attention of people the world over, particularly in the front lines of the East-West conflict. Reflect for a moment. How do you react to the following:

- the release of Andrey Sakharov, Yuriy Orlov, Anatoliy Shcharanskiy, and other political prisoners;

- the decoupling of SDI from the INF arms control talks in Geneva;

- the disclosure by the Soviet press of disasters such as Chernobyl, shipwrecks, the sinking of their nuclear submarine, and even Soviet domestic unrest;

- a greater willingness to court Western culture, including joint ventures.

This marketing effort has been targeted to the peoples of the world. Their strategic objective is to have Soviet-informed world public opinion, pressure free world governments—particularly those of Western Europe, Japan, and the United States—to act in a way, favorable to Soviet interests.

To meet this threat head-on, we at USIA have developed our own initiatives to maintain America's competitive edge in this global "war of ideas."

Fortunately, we begin from a position of strength.

Every good advertising campaign hopes for a good product. We have a great product—the truth about this great nation, its people, its life, and its vision of the future.

Who is our audience and what is our market? I can answer briefly: The whole world!—but, especially, those who are denied credible news and information, and who in the silence of their struggles dream of better days to come

But, why the whole world?

First, our security is dependent upon a world that upholds our most fundamental political and economic principles—the principles of "self-determination" and "free trade." A world hostile to these principles is a world in which we cannot survive.

But, there is something more fundamental—an obligation to other human beings.

The message of our product is larger than any society or government. It is, at bottom, the message of Freedom itself, and it resides in the soul of every man as an "inner measure" of his highest and most noble aspirations.

Therein lies the basis of our strength.

But, more than that, freedom--and the benefits it bestows--serves as a basis of classification for governments and peoples. In the advertising business, a brand is a mark of identification on merchandise--a symbol--denoting certain characteristics of the product--for instance, its quality and composition as well as its prestige value.

In public diplomacy, we also use marks of identification--a brand--which symbolizes its quality of a nation's life, its institutions, and its government.

Contrast the brands of East and West Germany, North and South Korea, Nicaragua and Costa Rica, Cambodia and Singapore. Each pair of countries shares similar cultures, traditions, and histories. Yet, East and West Germany, for instance, are different brands of countries, with different marks of identification. In each case, the "brands" of freedom--West Germany, South Korea, Costa Rica, and Singapore--are dynamic in their economic, social, and political life. The other "brands" which labor under repression and control--East Germany, North Korea, Nicaragua, and Cambodia--lack the growth, hope and vitality found in their neighbors' brand.

From a marketing point of view, these differences are powerful marketing resources in themselves.

But, like you, we use a mix of techniques and resources--some old, some new--to market our products. Ours are: Worldnet, a new global satellite television network.... The Voice of America...a new service to Cuba, Radio Marti... A worldwide wire service, soon to be connected directly via satellite to the newsrooms of the world's media...magazines...people-to-people exchanges... cultural presentations... 159 libraries... 200 cultural centres in 100 countries worldwide... three foreign press centers in the United States serving some 3,000 foreign correspondents... and overseas speakers program... exhibits... sports and artistic ambassadors... and our own dedicated foreign service corps, stationed at 206 posts in 127 countries.

All these resources are employed daily and, as in your business, we get important "feedback" on the impact they have on our audience. Listeners and viewers around the world write to us with their reactions and suggestions. Our posts around the world feed us listener response as well as foreign media and official reactions. Various government agencies give us evaluations of our emphasis and programs. We commission research on foreign attitudes and opinions. This continuing and on-going assessment--an informal polling, as well as formal polling--helps us to measure the success of our campaigns and to plan even more effectively for the future.



On the basis of this "feedback," I meet with the Secretary of State and his principal assistants each morning to brief them on the foreign media's reaction to current policies and issues. Throughout the night, cables from around the world received at our Operations center, are summarized, and sent to my home in time for the Secretary's morning meeting.

As advertisers, you are well aware that "feedback and evaluation" are critical components of any successful strategy. This is particularly true today. As never before, the attitudes of a people affect the actions, policies, and in some cases, even the survival of the regime.

For example, Free World international radio broadcasting helped the Polish people forge a unified voice in Solidarnosc, or Solidarity. In El Salvador, Haiti, and the Philippines, the forces of democracy were made victorious through ideas--ideas made even more powerful by support gained in living rooms the world over through modern telecommunications.

We never forget that for our client--America--a setback in the "war of ideas" is a potential threat to the nation's security.

Not surprisingly, then USIA's record over the past three decades has been good. Public opinion polling by USIA shows that the United States and our democratic way of life continue to be held in high esteem. The evidence of this is all around us.

Citizens of so-called socialist democracies continue to vote the only way they can--with their feet! There is no record of anyone trying to climb the Berlin Wall going the other way.

Since 1979, the tide of democracy has swept through 10 Latin American countries alone!

But, more specifically, how effective is USIA's strategy in the marketplace of ideas? Let me share a few examples.

During the first three years of operation, Worldnet has reached four billion gross audience viewer impressions. In this short period, we have received more media coverage around the world than the Agency was able to place during its previous 30 years.

Worldnet has won the respect of leading journalists and leaders of foreign governments, many of whom routinely request tapes and transcripts of Worldnet programs. In the early days of Worldnet, a leading Belgian magazine, WESTERN WORLD said: "In the long run, this communications link-up between Western Europe and the United States may prove more important to the Alliance than the 'coupling' of the defense of the two continents by the stationing of American Pershing-2 and cruise missiles in Europe."

While television provides dramatic results in the free world, radio is the only effective means in reaching millions living beyond the Iron Curtain and other repressed areas.

Our most faithful radio audience is in Eastern Europe where listenership--or market share--keeps climbing, especially in Poland, where 45 percent of the adults in that country listen to the Voice.

In Berlin, RIAS (Radio in the American Sector) commands over 50 percent of the market share, easily the most popular radio station in that divided city.

In conclusion, I began my speech with a question--Does this new image portend a change in Soviet objectives; or, are they merely wrapping themselves in a Messianic mantle of a false justice, a false economy, false fraternity, and false promises? Is "glasnost" truth-in-packaging, or deceptive promotion?

We suspect the latter. Why, you say? Let me ask you.

Is it "glasnost" when the Soviets continue to jam the VOA and in doing so, in their area of domination, spend as much as VOA's entire worldwide budget?

Is it "glasnost" when the Soviets falsely accuse the CIA of the Jim Jones massacre in Guyana, or when they publicly accuse the U.S. Army of creating and spreading the AIDS virus to Africa, while admitting in private that this is not so?

Is it "glasnost" when the Soviets forge documents and deliberately distort the nature and purpose of our Strategic Defense Initiative--cynically playing on the passions of innocent men and women who hope and pray for a better, more peaceful world.

Is it "glasnost" when the Soviets won't allow American bookstores in the Soviet Union, yet Soviet bookstores are easily found here?

Is it "glasnost" when our music, movies, art, and literature, destined for Russia, are censored, screened, and excluded on the basis of political content?

Is it "glasnost" when the Soviets deny appearances by American officials on Soviet TV--except for several ceremonial appearances by a few American officials, while 43 Soviet officials have freely made 200 appearances on American television in just the last several years?

Is it "glasnost" when a few Soviet political prisoners are released from incarceration with worldwide headlines, yet tens of thousands remain captive under harsh and repressive conditions?

Lenin once said: "Ideas are much more fatal than guns." While the Soviets have long understood the power of ideas, they have only recently begun to grasp the significance of style, image, public relations, and advertising.

The long-term question is this: Will their "glasnost" product transcend image and become a true openness, expressive of man's basic desire for freedom and peace? Will "glasnost" remove their mantle of deceit and create in its stead a true justice, a true economy, a true fraternity, a true abandonment of Soviet repression and aggression, and a true promise of peace for the future. Or will it be "gloss-over-nost," as they continue as before, focus on deceit, spreading lies about American and as the man once said: "We will sure you."

How the Soviets respond to these questions will ultimately determine whether the Soviets' marketing strategy will succeed in the competitive marketplace of ideas. If their product is genuine--if it is a true openness and equity, inwardly responsive to the individual's yearning for greater freedom, and if it is outwardly responsive to all people's desire for peace and stability--then it will be successful, the world will be the better for it. If not, the outline of a protracted conflict will once again emerge with its interminable tensions.

In any event, for now we are uncertain, yet hopeful as the Soviets pursue their creation of a style and image for Free World acceptance. In the short term, "glasnost" is here to stay, and this is a positive development. But, if history and philosophy are to be our guide, we must remain wary and vigilant. Who knows? "Glasnost" may be like those images in that early copywriter, Plato's allegory, "randomly dancing about the cave wall--fleeting little things, here today and gone tomorrow!"

Whatever the case, USIA must and will continue to do its job and do it well. In the contest over the "war of ideas," we can never become complacent. The stakes are too high.

USIA, an in-house agency for our client--the United States--must be successful. And I can assure all of you, we have no intention of losing this account.

Thank you for your attention! Good afternoon and good luck! [Wick speech ends]

Why Repeat Mistakes--Your Own and Those of Others? By Valentin Falin

One can say that advertising--if not a calling--is the trade of Charles Wick. It was namely the advertising business that he was engaged in for many years (not without a profit for himself), before being called to "serve the country" as Director of the United States Information Agency (USIA). For this reason Charles Wick should have felt like a fish in a pond while at the spring conference of the American Advertising Federation.

But don't hastily conclude that it was the conference atmosphere that stimulated him towards unusual frankness. No, for some time now the director has loved to speak on any occasion... or even without occasion. Wick is particularly attracted by the war theme. Let's make it clear immediately--not the war that thundered off and which has receded into the past, but the one which he believes is still raging and in which the USA should gain the upper hand whatever the cost.

Since the audience who gathered at the Willard Hotel were long acquainted with Mr. Wick, they understood what he was hinting at without the latter needing to repeat himself. Those beyond the walls of the hotel, who are not initiated into the behind-the-scenes affairs, have no need at all to know details: their lot is to swallow the potion prepared by the "competent services" and not to contemplate about high matters. Accordingly, when addressing them, there is a need to speak as peremptorily as possible, with an aplomb that tolerates no objections and knows neither shades nor doubts. This confidence impresses the American public at large, meaning that the method justifies itself.

Our most faithful radio audience is in Eastern Europe where listenership--or market share--keeps climbing, especially in Poland, where 45 percent of the adults in that country listen to the Voice.

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We, however, do not need to have a reflex faith in "our own." Communists deem it their paramount task to bring knowledge to the people. The course towards democratization and openness adopted by the party, expresses determination to carry through the behest of Vladimir Lenin who stressed that the Soviet system owed its strength to the consciousness of the masses and that the masses had to have as broad an access to the truth as possible.

It will not be out of place, therefore, when complementing Wick's excursion into history, to recall (for the sake of the truth) a number of facts revealing the true purport of USIA's activities and the place of propaganda in American life, in the so-called "public diplomacy" which the director counterposes to our "glasnost." Acquaintance with these facts will make it unnecessary to comment on many points in Wick's speech or make it possible to limit ourselves to a minimum of remarks.

Propaganda has long and firmly entered the reality of the United States and its home and foreign policies as perhaps the most effective method (ranking on a par with economic and military means) of imposing the will of the ruling minority and disarming the enemy. During World War I the mechanism of the "use of indoctrination," as propaganda was defined there, was placed under state control. "Whereas the Commander-in-Chief of the war effort was (French General) F. Foch," stated the American bourgeois researcher W. Lasswell, "the Commander-in-chief of the propaganda effort was (U.S. President) Wilson." The war ended. The army was demobilized (with the exception of the regiments, divisions and corps of propagandists).

The U.S. propaganda apparatus grew to even greater proportions in World War II. It turned into a giant octopus in the period of the cold war unleashed by Washington, with which it marked its betrayal of the cause of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, its rejection of the idea of a safe world for all nations and the proclamation of the Pax Americana doctrine. We must, said President Truman, make the world listen to us.... This task does not differ from other elements of foreign policy. It is an indispensable part of everything we have been doing... just as important as military might. What had to be done to make everyone listen and obey? The answer was ready: "Constant fear is the most powerful of all venoms. It limits man's imagination, paralyzes his initiative and even affects personal morality," insisted Senator McMahon and other cold warriors.

In 1950, the U.S. Government set up a Psychological Operation Coordinating Committee, charged with directing the "psychological warfare" against "international communism." The following year saw the establishment of a Psychological Strategy Board, which was no longer subordinated to the State Department, but to the National Security Council. By a presidential directive that department was charged with drafting a policy of ideological preparation of war and coordinating the pursuit of this policy by all the U.S. propaganda establishments, both government and private. The department was provided with "advisers" from among the representatives of the Joint Chiefs of Staff so that

"the department's policy and programme should be consistent with the approved plans of military operations." Exactly so that the mass media, in realizing "freedom of speech," should not be at variance with the plans of the Dropshot type which were laid at the basis of the U.S. strategy of aggression and then foisted onto the entire NATO bloc.

Already in 1953, under Dwight D. Eisenhower, there was instituted a post of Special Assistant to President on "questions of psychological warfare." The man appointed to this post was Ch. Jackson who, long before Ch. Wick, said that victory in "psychological warfare" would be ensured for the Americans by "fanaticism," unscrupulousness in methods, money and blind obedience ("not asking extra questions"). Hardly had Jackson been able to unfold his activities when another presidential decree was published--give up "unfortunate terminology" like "cold war" or "psychological warfare." Do the same as before, and no one will be the wiser.

The Psychological Strategy Board was quickly decorated with a new signboard--the Operations Coordinating Board--whereas the Voice of America and other services which previously acted as the mouthpiece of the cold war received a status of "truth tellers" in the framework of the then formed United States Information Agency. This is how the USIA came into being. In its birth certificate its parents are designated as American hegemonism and the claim to all-permissiveness.

The directors of the agency and its formal ranks in the military-political pyramid of power have kept changing since then. The appropriations for its activities have constantly been on the increase. But the credo of the propaganda conducted by the USIA has remained immutable.

Let us give the floor to Charles Wick. "We are in a state of war (with the USSR), whether a de facto war or a declared war." With this tirade, he began his directorship at the Agency six years ago. And in 1986, evidently summing up his efforts, he added that the "arsenal in that war." A la guerre comme a la guerre, and Wick's subordinate, VOA deputy director Nicolaidis, narrated: "We should try to destabilize the Soviet Union and its satellites, fostering disunity between peoples and governments. We should try to drive a wedge in the guise of discontent and suspicion between the leaders of separate countries in the communist bloc."

The language well matches the intentions. You can neither add nor detract from it. We are in witness of a typical case of information aggression. A position and practice condemned by the Geneva Convention (1936) on the question of using radio broadcasting in the interests of peace. An activity which the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg (1946) qualified as the "ideological preparation" of war and listed among heavy crimes against humanity. A policy incompatible with the resolution of the 2d Session of the UN General Assembly, as well as a number of other international law acts.

Charles Wick preferred to keep mum about this and many other things. Using this expression, it is not worth throwing gleams of light into these caves with their caveman philosophy. "In advertising America" he needs to draw

attention to the outer look of things, by means to their nature. Only the director's innermost tenor is betrayed by the Methodical refrain--"war of ideas," "war of symbols," "war of public diplomacy." Wick associates a victory in the specific "war of ideas" with a U.S. "promise of security tomorrow."

Here it is, the somewhat camouflaged variant of the same linkage between the Agency's "policy and programme" and the "approved plans of military operations." As it happened on the night of April 16 last year, while the American Air Force was bombing Tripoli and Benghazi, the Arab service of VOA 15 times broadcast calls for the overthrow of Mu'ammarr al-Qadhafi, the leader of the Libyan revolution. Or what happened five-six years ago in relation to Poland when, according to Wick, "free world international broadcasting helped the Polish people forge a unified voice in Solidarnosc, or Solidarity." It helped, notably, through the deployment of clandestine subversive radio stations with the participation of U.S. official representatives in the PPR [Polish People's Republic].

The USIA director looks at everything going on around him and primarily at the changes underway in the Soviet Union from the propaganda trench he has built himself. For him our democratization and "glasnost" are worse than a sharp knife. Charles Wick would feel very much reassured if the reconstruction in the USSR would wind up just a shuffling of words and wrapping. He's in for a disappointment. The decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress have been adopted in earnest and for a long time to come. Not in order that someone should have liked its "propaganda efforts," as the USIA chief portrays the situation, but because democratization, "glasnost" and that humane socialism, towards which we are heading, are needed by the Soviet people themselves. They are as necessary as life-giving air, as the prerequisite of a dynamic onward movement.

It looks like Charles Wick wants to believe that by acting "from a position of strength" the United States will be able to prevent or at least hamper the realization of Soviet plans. He even hints at how Washington is going to do this and what initiatives have been developed by the USIA "to maintain America's competitive edge in this global 'war of ideas'." If the "novelty" of the initiatives advertised by Wick amounts to branding our demand for social justice as "false justice," friendship and mutual respect among nations as "false fraternity," etc., this means that the American rulers' political and ideological luggage is meagre. Socialism will convincingly give vent to its capabilities and become a social system created by the people and for the people by the working people for the broadest masses.

There is no need to parry the petty and larger carlinies, with which Mr. Wick's speech is decorated--the thrusts and filigree, which the director uses quite lavishly. Take Shcharanskiy. He was no more a "political prisoner" than Pollard who was recently sentenced to life imprisonment in the USA.

About books. As of January 1, 1987, as many as 4,949 works of fiction alone by American authors had been published in the USSR in editions that total 374 million copies. In the USA, however, according to the data for the ten past years, the editions of the works by Russian and Soviet authors published there was 20 times less than the editions of American authors published over the same period in the USSR.

About the theatre. In the USSR upward of 50 plays by American authors have been produced on a permanent basis at more than 100 theatres (each theatre with a capacity of 600-800 seats). They have been on for years. In the USA, however, according to the data for the past year, only six plays by Soviet authors have been staged at six theatres (each with a capacity of 90-200 seats). Each of them has not been shown for more than a few weeks.

Such disappointing statistics could be prolonged in many other directions. It is not the Soviet Union but the American side that subjects the materials of international forums and discussions to censorship or altogether bans their being shown on TV. Not infrequently in contravention of reached agreements. Most frequently when it concerns actions in support of peace and against any justification of the arms race.

And the last thing. Charles Wick graciously tries to make us believe that he is ready to change his opinion about the Soviet Union if our country becomes similar to the United States. In the organization, of course, of its internal order first and foremost. The rest will come of itself. In this case, perhaps, we shall see the American neoglobalist policy in Central America, in the Middle East, in Africa and Asia as a "concern for democracy," and the Chilean and South Korean military dictatorships, which sprang up to life with Washington's immediate participation, as the incarnation of an innermost dream about freedom.

As a true "democrat" who is accustomed to "examining" other nations, Charles Wick compiled, in advance, a list of questions which we shall have to answer. So that across the ocean we will no longer be depicted as an "empire of evil" or as that the average American will not be afraid of the Soviet Union every day. As in the notorious film serial "Amerika." If we are unable to do this on our own, the "voices," "Worldnet" and voyaging consultants will gladly prompt us as to what we should do to stop being ourselves as quickly as possible.

Mr. Wick, how long is it possible to go on with one and the same? Seven decades ago the USA poked its nose into us with its evil. After the Americans, others tried to impose their orders upon us. Why repeat mistakes—your own and those of others? It would be better to prepare yourself for glasnost and democratization. Not in an adventurously brash style for the sake of unmaking profits, but for democracy as government of the people, for the people and by the people, and glasnost as the broadcasting of the truth, the whole truth and only the truth... Instead of triumphs and the more other mistakes in which the United States today is so rich.

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## UNITED STATES AND CANADA

### IZVESTIYA PROFILES FRANK CARLUCCI

PM101103 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Dec 86 Morning Edition p 5

[Unattributed profile of Frank Carlucci under the "Who's Who" rubric: "Frank Carlucci"]

[Text] F. Carlucci, career diplomat, intelligence officer, and politician, who has become a familiar figure in the Washington corridors of power in the last 15 years, has been appointed assistant to the U.S. President for national security affairs (the fifth during R. Reagan's 6-year term in the White House).

Frank Charles Carlucci, descendant of an Italian immigrant, was born in 1930, graduated from Princeton University, served as a naval artillery officer, spent a year studying at Harvard University's J.F. Kennedy School of Administrative Management, and made an essay at business, albeit unsuccessfully. His "upward path" began in the diplomatic sphere, when the name F. Carlucci became associated with covert operations in Africa, particularly in the Congo, Zanzibar, and Tanzania.

Strange coincidences are to be found in his career. While civil war was raging in the Congo and the CIA was preparing the murder of Patrice Lumumba F. Carlucci was resident in Kinshasha (then called Leopoldville) as a "political adviser." He was expelled from Zanzibar on a charge of subversive activity. Transferred to Brasilia, this "plainclothes" diplomat was involved in a coup mounted by right-wing forces.

For the sum of his "services" in this field F. Carlucci was promoted in 1971 into the circle of government officials and received the portfolio of director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. He soon became undersecretary at the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, from where he was catapulted into the post of ambassador to Portugal. But here history repeats itself: He was openly charged with supporting the antigovernment actions staged by reaction on 11 March 1975.

He publicly denied his link with the "dirty tricks department": "I am a career diplomat and not a CIA staffer." However, on his return to the United States in 1978 he was appointed deputy director of the CIA, and in 1981 became deputy secretary of defense in the Reagan administration. It is no wonder that he is known as "Casey's and Weinberger's man."

The following facts also stand out from the biographical details made public: In addition to his involvement in the "Black Colonels" plot in Greece, F. Carlucci, as a "CIA diplomat," directed "top-secret CIA paramilitary operations against the government of South Yemen." THE NEW YORK TIMES stresses that the "President's new national security assistant supports the conduct of secret operations abroad."

Now F. Carlucci is in the National Security Council, which is an influential consultative organ under the president. Let us recall that the following are on the NSA's record: Directives on "achieving military superiority" over the USSR with the aim of "undermining Soviet military might" and effecting "changes in the Soviet system," documents asserting that "global war" is fully in accord with U.S. interests since it opens up the prospect of "settling accounts" with the Soviet Union, the doctrine of "brinkmanship" adopted at an NSC session in 1953, and so forth.

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CSU: 1807/221

UNITED STATES AND CANADA

READERS ASK ABOUT U.S. MEDIA, FASHION, REPATRIATES

PM241135 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 Mar 87 pp 1-3

[Report by A. Baranov and N. Tsvetkov under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Trust Will Save the World; Central Television Political Observer Vladimir Pozner Answers KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA Leaders' Questions"]

[Excerpts] "Hello, Vladimir Vladimirovich, this is Igor Khilkevich from Kiev speaking. I have frequently heard that in America the Soviet Union is called the 'empire of evil.' But almost exactly the same image of the United States is formed in Soviet people's consciousness by our newspapers and television broadcasts in which America and the Americans are as a rule portrayed in a negative light..."

[Pozner] I cannot agree with you, Igor. If our mass media depicted the United States only in black tones, then Soviet people's attitudes toward that country would probably be mostly negative. Yet the results of public opinion polls in which I have taken part show that the majority of our compatriots have no feelings of hostility for Americans. That is why one should not claim that the Soviet mass media are deliberately fueling hatred for the U.S. people and are engaging in implanting the "image of an enemy" in Soviet people.

It is another matter when from the professional viewpoint we journalists specializing in international affairs sometimes produce cliché-ridden and frankly weak items and our journalists' view is frequently guilty of bias. But you have obviously noticed that matters have improved recently in our coverage of American reality. Information about the United States, and not just about that country, has become more diverse and fuller. We have begun to produce "first person" statements, as they are called, by Western journalists and politicians without fearing that our readers or television viewers will take something "the wrong way." Finally, modern technology has provided Americans and Soviet people with a unique opportunity to communicate directly with the aid of television linkups. And if you have seen just a few of them you have probably noticed that our ideas and, the main thing, our knowledge, of America is immeasurably greater than Americans' knowledge of us. That is no accident. It is a reflecting of the policies of the two states.

"'Direct line?' Anufriyeva, an engineer from Leningrad. This is my question: Why not organize in our country the showing of the television series 'Amerika' about which our press has written so much?"

[Pozner] You obviously know that I opposed this idea. I should like to use your question to answer not just you but also many comrades who ask the same thing. The 'Amerika' movie cost its makers approximately 35 million dollars. It would be expensive for us to buy. Should we reimburse them, even if only partially, for these expenses from our own pockets?

Second, let's suppose that we did allow 'Amerika' on the Soviet screen. What would be the result? I fear that, in addition to a legitimate feeling of anger at the creators of this frankly anti-Soviet lampoon, it would give rise among our television viewers to hostility toward Americans in general. And this--the arousal of mutual hatred--is precisely the aim pursued by those who stand behind the creation of such movies.

"Hello, Moscow? Mikhail Lebedev from Khabarovsk speaking. I am a construction worker. Please tell me how Americans are reacting to the showing of our 'Moscow Meridian' program?"

[Pozner] To judge from the letters coming in from the United States, our programs are being watched with great interest there. But the number of television viewers is small because the potential of our partner--a small cable television company--is very limited. But we are planning to continue broadcasting the "Moscow Meridian" programs as regularly as now--once a month.

"Hello, Boris Chimitdorzhiev, a serviceman from Pushkino, Moscow Oblast. I have a suggestion. Let the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting and the U.S. television companies agree on the exchange of children's programs. Perhaps this will help our children when they grow up to understand each other better..."

[Pozner] I think that's an excellent idea, Boris. There is just one "but" here...the point is that in our country we can show any American program on Central Television, that is to the whole country. But in the United States there are many television companies differing in terms of the size of their audience and the volume and geographical range of their broadcasting. For equal exchange it is essential to agree with at least the majority of them which, as you can understand, is very complex.

"Svetlana Sidorova from Ulyanovsk. On 26 February the Soviet Union broke off its moratorium and carried out an underground nuclear explosion. Do you believe that we could have waited longer? And will the resumption of tests not give rise to doubts abroad as to the sincerity of our desire for a nuclear-free world?"

[Pozner] I believe your fears are unfounded. For 18 months our country did not carry out nuclear tests. The moratorium was extended several times, but the United States even so did not follow our good example. Obviously, from



the viewpoint of Soviet military experts the further continuation of the unilateral moratorium could have jeopardized our country's security. But no blame attaches to the USSR for the fact that the moratorium nonetheless had to be ended. We are ready to renew it at any time, incidentally, together with the American side, of course.

"'Direct line?' Hello, this is Olga Kuldik, a student from Saratov. My friends and I took part in the 'It is still not too late!' and 'I vote for peace!' actions organized by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. I should like to know how the White House reacted to the millions of postcards we sent, whether there was any report in the U.S. press about these actions?"

[Pozner] You know, Olga, the only reaction from the U.S. authorities was the desire to keep quiet about these mass actions by Soviet young people and to ensure that the broad public learned nothing about them. And it must be admitted that to some extent they have succeeded in this. But it by no means follows from this that these actions failed to achieve their purpose. No, they have become an inalienable and important part of the Soviet people's overall peace-loving efforts. The efforts which are being undertaken at the most diverse levels--from the state level to the personal level. Their aim is to generate a sense of realism in Americans.

I am sure that the actions in which you and millions of young comrades took part are a very important and very necessary matter. Your voices may seem like a drop in the ocean to some people across the Atlantic. But a drop of water wears away stone, as they say.

"Albina Aleksandrovna Ivanova, an engineer from Rudnyy, Kazakh SSR. Does it not seem to you that our young people have been overwhelmed by the flood of fashionable Western trends? After all, this diverts them from serious problems, from thoughts and concerns on actual reality..."

[Pozner] I would not condemn young people wholesale, so to speak, for their involvement with "rock" and suchlike. During my youth narrow pants and the fox-trot, which had come to us from the West, were censured, and even earlier this was the case with the waltz. But the point is probably not what music people are dancing to.

I agree that today's young people give considerable grounds for anxiety. But it seems to me that their problems are to a considerable degree the problems of our entire society. I have in mind the ugly phenomena which have appeared over the past 2 decades in our social development when what were, to put it mildly, discrepancies between word and deed were allowed, when hypocrisy, bureaucracy, and corruption became widespread. Ye' young people can feel lies more keenly than we adults and cannot come to terms with lies inside themselves. And this inner protest led some people to a closed word of enthusiasms which seemed to be "their own," and not dictated "from above."

"Leningrad on the line. This is Mariya Alekseyevna Skiba. I have a question: What is your attitude toward the so-called repatriates? I shall say immediately that my attitude toward these former Soviet citizens is unequivocally negative. When I see these people groaning in front of the television cameras, for some reason I cannot believe in their sincerity. I think the majority of them are motivated, as they were before when they left the Motherland, merely by a desire for personal prosperity."

[Pozner] I can understand your feelings, Mariya Alekseyevna. You are not alone in adhering to that opinion. And that is natural. But let's just consider the following point. Not all cases can be judged in the same way. And if someone has come with time to understand his error and to feel that he cannot live without the motherland, then the doors of his home should not be closed to him. You obviously know that the corresponding organs are now examining several thousand applications from such people.

"Hello, you have a call from Cheboksary, this is Nadezhda Sazonova on the telephone. Vladimir Vladimirovich, I am very pleased with the way you are carrying out television linkups with the United States. I feel that you have a good knowledge of the Americans' psychology and therefore know what can be expected from their viewers at any particular moment. And what, in your view, are the strong and weak sides of the American character?"

[Pozner] It is difficult to answer this question briefly. I think that among Americans' strong points we can include efficiency, inner emancipation, frankness in communication, and sometimes even a certain naivete. Their negative features are an inclination to resolve any contradictions with the aid of force, to put it figuratively the habit of "automatically reaching for their Colt." Also boastfulness, an arrogant attitude toward everything non-American, and an excessive attachment to the material side of life. But as a whole the American people, like any other, have far more positive than negative features.

I am sure that mutual understanding between the peoples of the USSR and the United States can be attained. Trust can save the world from the conflagration of war. And the path to trust lies through communication, through frank, well-intentioned dialogue.

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CSO: 1807/230

## WESTERN EUROPE

### BRITISH MP'S URGED TO DISCUSS RIGHTS IN UK, NOT USSR

PM161117 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 12 Mar 87 First Edition p 3

[S. Andreyev article: "Why British Parliament Is Discussing Nonexistent 'Problems'"]

[Text] Even before the new "Public Order" Act came into force in Britain, a person was arrested and then charged for saying "boo" to a police dog. The incident has become an anecdote, but the British do not find it so funny. "How the Concept of Freedom is Gradually Being Eroded in Britain." This is a heading from the conservative journal THE ECONOMIST. The article itself discusses the threat to civil rights posed by the new legislation. "A threat to freedom" is the opinion of Lord Salmon, who has held high offices in the country for many years.

In the light of facts and opinions like these (and there are a great many of them), it seems quite natural that the British Parliament should take up the question of human rights. But, while these rights are being violated every single day in the British Isles, Parliament is discussing the situation in... the Soviet Union. What is more, emulating the American practice of uncere- monious interference from Washington in the internal affairs of other states, the organizers of these wordy debates have arranged them before Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's visit to our country. They obviously intend them to serve as a means of conveying their parting wishes.

According to one of the speakers, London will give Moscow its "vote of confi- dence" only when the USSR orients its domestic policy toward the high standards set on the banks of the Thames. It is clear that Westminster should keep its unsolicited vote of confidence for debates on British domestic policy problems. This reminds me of something once said by Gerry Adams, leader of one of the parties in Northern Ireland, who was elected to Parliament from Belfast but refused to take the seat offered. When Soviet journalists asked him why he did not wish to discuss in Parliament the scandalous transgressions of the law committed by British security forces in Ulster, he replied: "I cannot discuss Irish affairs in the parliament of an alien country. It would be the same as discussing them in the FRG Bundestag. It would be useless anyway." But, as we can see, this very same parliament regards political stratagems which do not contribute to the successful development of relations between our countries as useful.

So who needs them and why? A recent historical analogy springs to mind first of all. We all remember how interference in socialist countries' internal affairs began on a large scale, with the aid of the "human rights" master key, soon after the signing of the Final Act in Helsinki. And exactly at a time when detente was able to take the form of practical disarmament measures. To-day, with the Soviet Union's proposal to resolve the problem of medium-range missiles, opponents of nuclear disarmament in the United States and Western Europe have found themselves in an unusually difficult position. It requires special efforts to blur the issue. And so, once again, "rights" that are in fact mythical but which are being linked with quite specific disarmament issues are being dragged out of the bag of anti-Soviet tricks.

Another reason is that Conservative members of parliament want to reduce the pressure in their own social pressure cooker with the help of an escape valve. The move toward the thorough democratization of all social life in our country and the increasingly consistent fulfillment in practice of Soviet citizens' rights and freedoms is in deadly contrast to the British trend toward limiting its own democratic freedoms.

British parliamentarians may not be throwing stones in a glass house but they are throwing stones in a building from whose tall Gothic windows one can see the homeless bedding down for the night beneath a bridge over the Thames. There are approximately 100,000 homeless people in Britain. Those without a roof over their heads are mainly representatives of the 4 million unemployed subsisting on a miserable pittance.

"We are talking about freedoms--not poverty," could be London's reply. But the two are interconnected. Police repression is becoming the chief physician in Britain in the fight against social ills. Strikes by print workers and miners have demonstrated a relatively new and extremely unattractive side of life in Britain. Thousands of policemen had to be deployed--not to maintain order but to suppress picketing workmen and break up demonstrations. The same response has been given to British people's demands to remove American nuclear missiles from their country. The police have arrested 10,000 people in this connection so far. The police are becoming omnipotent and omnipresent. They have been bursting into journal editorial offices and BBC studios. They are tapping the telephones of peace movement activists. They beat up the country's colored inhabitants if they protest against racial discrimination, and a number of people have actually died in police custody under unexplained circumstances.

"Why Do British Police So Willingly Beat People UP?" This question formed the title of an article in another British journal, THE NEW STATESMAN, which was also subjected to a police raid recently. Why does Westminster not give some thought to this question, discuss it, and then do something about it? This is also a question, because we do not give advice to other legislators.

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CSO: 1807/219



## WESTERN EUROPE

### IZVESTIYA HITS UK DEFENSE SECRETARY'S GIBE

PM171037 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Mar 87 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent A. Krivopalov "Rejoinder": "Merely Unethical?"]

[Text] London--George Younger, the British Secretary of State for Defense, has again publically demonstrated that he is under the spell of emotions and of the old way of thinking.

Speaking at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, the chief of the British Pentagon stunned the academic audience with a "discovery" which many of those present in the hall may find simply hard to believe.

With little concern for the norms of decency and the requirements dictated by the present stage of relations between our two countries, Younger declared: "Despite the Soviet leadership's current tendency to smile a lot, the Russian bear's teeth are sharper than ever. And they continue to present an enormous and real danger..."

You cannot but marvel at the ease with which he, as a member of the cabinet of M. Thatcher, who is leaving on an official visit to Moscow soon, ignores what has just created such a deep impression throughout the world and also in Britain itself. The USSR has proposed that medium-range missiles be eliminated from Europe, it has proposed a real way out of the nuclear disarmament impasse, and George Younger seems not to have noticed any of it.

He is droning on on the same note of despondency and gloom. According to him the main danger to peace is the Soviet Union. Since when has real disarmament become more dangerous than excessive armament? Judging by appearance, logic was not Younger's favorite subject at school. Incidentally, the secretary of state for defense does not even bother to try to camouflage with some kind of arguments the crude attack which he has launched.

He is busily occupied with something else which has become the decisive concern since he settled down in the chief trench of Britain's war department. This member of the Tory Cabinet is trying very hard to present our country and the Soviet people as an enemy.

All this is out of place. It is reminiscent of politicking which puts petty schemes above major aims. And there is another point I would like to make. Formally, London officialdom appears to favor the Soviet initiative on medium-range missiles. Yet in actual fact? The conditions, arguments, and solutions proposed by the British secretary of defense are strange to say the least. The question might even arise: How is Britain's stance on this issue really to be understood and who, ultimately, is in charge in Whitehall?

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CSO: 1807/219

POLISH INTERNAL AFFAIRS OFFICIAL: 'NO UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT'

Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 12, Mar 87 pp 14-15

[Article by Sergei Kulik]

[Text]

In Poland there is no organized underground movement in the form publicized by Western propaganda, General Zbigniew Pudysz says. There are only small groups which their leaders, prominent in Solidarity days, are eager to pass off as active illegal structures. All of them are known to the security service.

As compared with 1980-81, we assess the situation in the country as favourable. Socio-political life has stabilized. The economic situation has improved as well. Poland's position in the international arena has become stronger. These factors have narrowed down the social base of the so-called opposition and sapped confidence in its leaders, including leaders of the former Solidarity. Their isolation is increasing.

What does the political opposition offer the Poles today? What are its slogans?

It has no programme other than one of flat rejection of everything connected with the socialist system. Such a stand does not appeal to the majority of Poles. The enemies of socialism in Poland are fully aware of this too. Quarrels and disputes over the tactics of anti-government activity have become more frequent in their camp. Such clashes are accompanied by personal rivalry and squabbling over handouts from the West.

At the same time attacks by Western subversive propaganda centres against Poland are just as vigorous as before. They are increasingly assuming the form of direct interference in the affairs of our socialist state.

Last year alone the courts tried a dozen cases of espionage and treason. As a rule, the accused were persons recruited by the U.S. and West German intelligence services while they were outside Poland. The investigation of the activities of the Brussels Solidarity Office under Jerzy Milewski revealed that underground groups in Poland maintained criminal links with Western subversive centres.

Last autumn persons found guilty of crimes they had committed for political motives were released from prison in Poland. This measure did not apply, however, to persons convicted of espionage, acts of terrorism and betrayal of state secrets. The Polish media sometimes characterized it as amnesty. What did this measure mean in practice? What results did it bring?

I would like to ask you a question in turn. Could a weak state afford to take such a humane step? This amnesty demonstrated that socio-political life in the country had stabilized. This was its main purpose and main result.

By the beginning of this year, 225 persons had been released from prison and several hundred, whose cases were under investigation, were allowed to go free. Five hundred and eighty-five voluntarily gave themselves up to the authorities. These people had engaged in anti-government activities but were not under arrest. We also know that,

while many had not made any statement to the authorities concerned, they actually abandoned their illegal activities.

We carried out an unusual operation. The internal affairs authorities issued summonses to members of many conspiratorial groups and to a significant number of people who were aiding and abetting them. The interview revealed that these people had no inkling of how well informed we were about their activities. Our comrades told them that their secrecy was mere delusion and that their activities were futile. At the same time, the authorities warned the conspirators that if they carried on they would be punished.

The amnesty created a qualitatively new situation. It deprived the West of its basic arguments about the existence of an opposition in Poland.

Have the people you interviewed understood the government's humane intentions?

Only 0.5 per cent, i.e., one in 200, persisted in anti-government activities. So the amnesty was wholly justified.

However, among the people we released there are a few who are reluctant to come to terms with present-day reality. They are, admittedly, few in number and we know all of them by name. There have been attempts to "resuscitate" some of the Solidarity structures. Their slogan has remained unchanged: It is the "trade union pluralism" that recently cost Poland so much.

I wonder what form this "pluralism" would have taken in the face of the present All-Poland Trade Union Alliance with a membership of seven million? If such a situation had emerged, the trade unions affiliated to the All-Poland Trade Union Alliance would have had to deal with such difficult problems as the raising of labour productivity, and the modernization of industry, whereas Solidarity, if legalized, would have demanded higher wages, regardless of the performance, and more holidays. They would have urged the workers to go on strike. Thus, "trade union pluralism" would have revived obviously anti-government organizations in Poland and led to social tensions again.

The extremists who are demagogically hailing "pluralism" in the hope of making a comeback to politics claim

that they enjoy public support. However, it has turned out that the support is of a somewhat different, material, character. And its source is not Poland, but the West.

Late last year a Scania truck from Sweden was held up at the frontier post in Swinoujscie. It was carrying printing equipment, computers, radio transmitters, and propaganda material. The estimated cost of this illegal freight, which weighed 8.5 tons, was \$300,000. It was established that the vehicle had proceeded to Poland with the consent of the Swedish frontier guards and police. The senders were again acting in the name of the Solidarity office in Brussels.

A short while ago a minibus from Norway was held up at the same frontier post in Swinoujscie. Some 1,500 anti-Polish pamphlets were found under a false floor. The customs officials thought the OMO washing powder packages from Hamburg suspiciously heavy. It was transmitters, a miniature camera with films, videotapes and a large sum of money in dollars and West German marks. The receiver was one J. Teliga, who was trying to set up a Solidarity organization among individual farmers.

These and many other facts reveal what the money sent to the Solidarity leaders is to be spent on. I refer also to the \$512,000 allocated by the U.S. National Endowment for Democracy.

The AFL-CIO is supplying large sums of money for subversive activities against Poland. We believe that they are not made up exclusively of trade union dues. As I have pointed out, a part of this money is appropriated by "political fighters" for purely personal purposes. For instance, Adam Michnik, who has no job, celebrated his birthday at the villa of a U.S. journalist. The party was attended by close on 300 guests.

I was told that a Solidarity leader who had been convicted of anti-government activities refused to leave jail, although an extensive campaign for his release was being conducted in the F.R.G. and several other Western countries. Does this mean that if an opponent to socialism is in prison he carries more weight?

It does. As soon as a "freedom fighter" is released, he can no longer pose as a "martyr and hero," and his bosses abroad start to lose interest in him. The West, particularly the U.S., is short of arguments with propaganda value. That is why the Western propaganda machine



has again been harping recently on "political prisoners" in Poland. Whose fate is worrying it? The West is trying to pass off saboteurs and terrorists as "political prisoners." Among them are three criminals from Lodz region—the Wypychowski brothers and their friend Redosz—who have links with the Solidarity organization. What exploits have they performed? They are guilty of derailing two freight and one passenger trains. They have naturally been given prison sentences for their crimes.

The Western media named five inhabitants of Legnica "political prisoners." (They have now been released.) They tried to use the explosives stolen by them at a copper-ore mine for organizing terrorist acts. For instance, they attempted to demolish a filling station in the town.

What are you concentrating most of your efforts on now?

Above all on preventing crime and countering possible acts on the part of our political opponents. We know that to overcome the present economic difficulties and get the country onto the path of accelerated development, the whole people must work conscientiously and purposefully. This also requires stability. We must therefore prevent any actions that might interfere with the

rhythm of social labour. It is not fortuitous that every sign indicative of the normalization of the situation in the country, the growing prestige of the Polish United Workers' Party, and the increasing strength of the socialist state is regarded in some Western countries as a signal for renewed attacks on Poland. However, if our preventive measures with respect to potential offenders endangering the vital interests of the socialist state prove ineffective, we shall not fail to resort to measures of compulsion. It would be appropriate to quote Wojciech Jaruzelski. He said: "Those who intend to hammer together all sorts of adventurous and anti-government groups and open another round of anarchy in the country would do well to remember that the law cannot be stretched too far."

In conclusion, I would like to make it clear that the U.S. and other NATO countries are drawing attention to the problem of so-called "political prisoners" not because Washington, Bonn or Paris are guided by humane considerations. Far from it. The West needs "political prisoners" in Poland because this is the only way it can credibly engage in anti-Polish campaigns.

PROPOSED NUCLEAR-FREE PHILIPPINES VS U.S. MILITARY BASES

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Mar 87 p 5

[Article by V. Sokolov: "American Bases--Threat to the Sovereignty and Security of the Philippines"]

[Text] The referendum which took place in the Philippines approved the draft of the new constitution. After this the question of the American military bases on the territory of this country occupied the center of the country's political life. In accordance with the new constitution, nuclear weapons cannot be placed in the Philippines. But among the Filipinos there is no doubt that such weapons are stored on the American bases, APN correspondent in the Philippines reports for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

First of all the matter concerns the naval base at Subic Bay and the air base at Clark Field--the largest outside the borders of the United States, although, in addition to these, there are five other American military facilities in the country. All these served as strong points during the U.S. aggressive war in Vietnam and for demonstrations of strength in the Pacific and Indian Ocean regions. The Filipinos consider that the bases constitute a serious threat to their national security. With the location [on the islands] of nuclear weapons, the threat of nuclear destruction grows.

In addition, the military presence of Americans in the country gives rise to a whole complex of social-economic problems. At the same time as the land reform is faced with serious difficulties and at times they are distributing to the peasants land that is barely arable, Clark Field alone occupies 45,000 hectares of the most fruitful land.

The accumulation of American military personnel aids in the spread of drug addiction, prostitution, crime and disease. Currently 41 cases of the AIDS disease have been registered in the country and the overwhelming majority of the carriers of this virus have been found among the support personnel at the military bases.

After the adoption of the new constitution the movement for liquidating the bases is rapidly gaining strength. Three days ago the leading anti-nuclear organizations--the Council of Peace and Solidarity, the National Organization

for a Nuclear-Free Philippines and the Coalition Against Nuclear Weapons--turned to President Aquino with a suggestion to create sometime in the future an independent commission for observing the fulfillment of the nuclear-free principle.

We know, said Doctor Frank Arselian, chairman of the National Organization for a Nuclear-Free Philippines, that there are nuclear weapons on the American bases located in our country and we want to get rid of them as soon as possible. That is why we received with enormous interest Mr Gorbachev's statement of 28 February, in which he proposed to rid the European continent of nuclear weapons. If this important step were to be implemented in Europe, it would be possible to look with hope at a nuclear-free future for Asia.

A difficult task faces the movement for liquidation of the bases. First of all, among the Filipino politicians there are many who view the American military presence as a "nuclear umbrella" and not as a magnet for a retaliatory strike. In this sense, my Filipino interlocutors often speak about the necessity to disperse the prejudices in relation to the Soviet Union, spread here for decades.

Of course, the military-political circles of the United States are putting and will put the strongest pressure on the Philippines, connecting American strategy with the fate of the two largest overseas bases. The results of the just completed visit to Manila by U.S. Deputy Secretary of State for East Asia and Pacific Ocean Affairs Gaston Sigur testify to this. Having met here with the Secretary for National Defense Rafael Ileto and the Chief of Staff of the Philippine Army General Fidel Ramos, the American representative insisted on speeding up the process of modernizing the Philippine Armed Forces and expanding the scale of punitive operations against the insurgents. Sigur made it clearly understood that the internal political instability, linked in Washington with the growth of the "communist threat" in the Philippines, was causing serious concern in the White House.

A difficult struggle faces the supporters of liquidating the bases. All the more since the adopted constitution, having proclaimed the nuclear-free principle, does not specify the fate of the bases or the dates and methods for freeing the territory of the country from nuclear weapons.

At the end of this year the Philippines will host the conference of the heads of states and governments of the Association of States of Southeast Asia (ASEAN). A discussion of the question on transforming this region into a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality is envisioned. Many political parties and organizations of the country are demanding today that the Philippines become an active supporter of this process, which in turn will help the implementation of the nuclear-free principle and the liberation from the burden of foreign military bases.

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